SPECIAL 16-PAGE SECTION INCLUDED WITH THIS ISSUE

Complete Text of the Browder-Libby Debate

NEW MASSES

MAY 24, 1938 FIFTEEN CENTS A COPY

VOL. XXVII, NO. 9. NEW YORK, N. Y.: IN TWO SECTIONS OF WHICH THIS IS SECTION ONE

Meet the Communists!

The Party: Its Organization, Its Members; What It Does and How It Does It

By Ruth McKenney

Wreckers in High Places

An American Chemist's Report on His Experiences in the U. S. S. R.

By John Sutton

Europe's Night of Terror Advances

A Dispatch from London

By Theodore Draper

Granville Hicks' "I Like America"

Reviewed by Herman Michelson

Cartoons by Escott, William Sanderson, Snow, Ad Reinhardt, Crockett Johnson

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

BRUCE MINTON, who has been traveling through Pennsylvania, will contribute an article next week on the primaries there, which are of national significance.

Louis B. Boudin is writing an article on the recent important decision of the Supreme Court in the Tompkins case, which affects judicial precedents established for nearly a century. It will be called "The Supreme Court Confesses Error."

Ruth McKenney's second article on the Communist Party will discuss its organization in detail. The Tenth National Convention of the Party will be reported by A. B. Magil.

The anonymous article, "Why I Am Not an Active Communist," in last week's issue has brought in a large number of responses, and we shall continue publishing them in coming issues.

We have received several inquiries about an ad that recently appeared in the *Nation* and the *New Republic* and which featured the fact that it had previously been refused by NEW MASSES. The ad in question was for a book which, the publishers claimed, posed several questions that Communists and Socialists are unable to answer. It is a fact that the ad was submitted to and rejected by NEW MASSES. The author of the book informed us that we were rejecting the ad at our own risk, for the negotiations with the publishers would be used as publicity. To most of our readers it will be no matter for surprise that NEW MASSES should reject an ad for a book of this type. To other readers, we need only say that NEW MASSES is not a liberal magazine, with a policy of accepting material from all sources; it has been a past and present policy of ours to reject advertising that conflicts with our editorial views. This applies particularly to books which attack the political program for which we stand. We review such books when they are important enough but do not permit the publishers to use our advertising columns.

What's What

WE hear from George Furiya, translator of Kensaku Shimaki's story "From a Japanese Prison" (Literary Section, Feb., 1938) that he and Shimaki are at work on the translation of the rest of the book, of which "From a Japanese Prison" forms a part. Since its publication in NEW MASSES several publishers, here and in England, have become interested in the book.

Lydia Gibson writes us from Barcelona about the work of the Catalan artists of the Unified Socialist Party. "A very talented group of artists," she writes, "they produce the posters, the large painted signs, the illustrations, and cover designs for pamphlets, etc., and all the art work used by the party; also the drawings for *L'Esquella*, the satirical weekly of the party. This paper resembles the 'old *Masses*' rather than the new, in that it has a great number of cartoons, jokes, caricatures, etc., and only short pieces of writing, and those usually satirical. The art work is exceedingly striking and modern."

H. G. Kaye writes us to protest against the high prices charged for the showing of Soviet films. "The advantages to be derived from more largely popularizing the Soviet cinema in America seem overwhelming. We are letting lie virtually untouched one of our best means for the spread of art and propaganda. Why is this allowed to continue?"

Following are a few excerpts from letters concerning the magazine, which have come into this office recently:

Calhoun Cartwright, executive secretary of Labor's Non-Partisan League in Lucas County, Ohio, feels that Bruce Minton's article, "Labor Prepares for the Polls" (May 3), should be reprinted in pamphlet form and given wide distribution. And Mrs. Pierce Williams, of Alexandria, Va., feels that the recent articles by Romain Rolland, Ramon Sender, and Heinrich Mann (April 26) should also be reprinted.

Raymond Kresensky, director of the Iowa Federal Writers' Project, thinks that the last literary section was a credit both to NEW MASSES and to the project writers. He was particularly pleased to find two Iowans, William Pillin and Opal Shannon, represented in the poetry columns. Albert Schmutz, of Louisville, Ky., also compliments us, but feels that we should abandon literary articles for more factual and analytical material.

Anton Refregier, Louis Lozowick, Herb Kruckman, Mischa Richter, and other artists who contribute to these pages are among those represented in an exhibit of paintings, drawings, and prints for the benefit of the Spanish Children's Milk Fund in Boston. The Boston Chapter of the Medical Bureau and the Greater Boston Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy have arranged the exhibit which is being held until May 21 at the gallery of the Boston Camera Club.

Granville Hicks, NEW MASSES literary editor, whose new book *I Like America* is reviewed in this issue, has been conducting a series of weekly news broadcasts from Troy, N. Y. The series was sponsored by the local organization of the Communist Party and was originally scheduled to run for thirteen weeks. At the close of that period, however, the broadcast proved such a success that it was decided to continue it, and it is now in its twentieth week.

And M. Colbert, of New York City, feels that NEW MASSES should discontinue its "verbal wars against fascism in Spain," and, instead, plead for "the thousands of impoverished American families."

On Thursday, May 26, in Madison Square Garden in New York, there will be a farewell meeting for several representatives of loyalist Spain who have been touring the United States on behalf of their government. The meeting will be held in support of the Nye resolution on the Spanish embargo, and speakers will include NEW MASSES contributor Ramon Sender, Carmen Meana, José Bergamin, and Ojier Preteceille. Bishop Francis J. McConnell and Dr. Walter B. Cannon will be co-chairmen. On May 25, also in Madison Square Garden, will be the opening session of the Tenth National Convention of the Communist Party.

THIS WEEK

VOL. XXVII, NO. 9

May 24, 1938

Meet the Communists *by Ruth McKenney* 3
Wreckers in High Places *by John Sutton* 7
The Hiring Hall *by Fritz von Meier* 8
Editorial Comment 11
Comrades . . . Your Ears! *by Robert Forsythe* 14
Europe's Night of Terror Advances *by Theodore Draper* . . 15
What About Intervention? 16
Union in New Mexico *by Raymond Otis* 18
Spartacus—1938 *by Joy Davidman* 19

BOOK REVIEWS

A Book for the Millions *by Herman Michelson* 22
Partisanship in Literature *by Samuel Sillen* 23
Portrait of the Artist *by Louis Lozowick* 24
No Matter What Your Age *by Nora Benjamin* 25
Proust, Giraudoux, Gide, and Morand *by Edwin Berry Burgum* 27
Brief Reviews *by Helen Burlin, George Abrams, Norman Macleod* 28

SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

Movie Against War *by James Dugan* 29
The Phonograph Rocks the Cradle *by Roy Gregg* 29
Filibuster and the National Negro Congress *by Owen Burke* 31

Art work done by Ad Reinhardt, Crockett Johnson, John Heliker, Escott, John Mackey, Pzinador, Ida Laura Clark, Snow, William Sanderson, Sid Gotcliffe.

Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification direct to us rather than to the post office will give the best results.

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Who's Who

RUTH MCKENNEY was formerly a feature writer on the *World-Telegram* in New York. She is a frequent contributor to the *New Yorker* and has written for NEW MASSES before . . . John Sutton is an American chemist, who, before going to work in the Soviet Union in 1931, studied and taught at Tuskegee Institute, Drake University, and Iowa State College . . . Raymond Otis is a writer living in New Mexico . . . Louis Lozowick is an outstanding Marxian art critic . . . Edwin Berry Burgum is a member of the faculty at New York University and an editor of *Science & Society* . . . Nora Benjamin is the author of *Roving All the Day* and several other books for children . . . The painting, *Sharecroppers*, by Ida Laura Clark, on page 22, is on exhibit at Jane Speed's bookstore in Birmingham, Ala.

Flashback

THE Harlem Convention of the Communist Party begins on May 20, the 151st anniversary of the opening of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787. . . . May 20th happens also to be the birthday of Earl Browder, who was born at Wichita, Kan., in 1891. . . . At Pottawatomie, Kan., a note was left in the home of John Brown on May 24, 1856: "Tell your men that if they do not get away from here we will come tomorrow and kill them." Having no intention of abandoning the fight against slavery, John Brown and his sons that night beat their tormentors to the draw. At Ossawatomie they captured and executed the authors of the note who called for violence against abolitionists. . . . Victor Hugo, eloquent defender of liberty, died May 22, 1885.

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NEW MASSES
MAY 24, 1938

Ad Reinhardt

Meet the Communists

By Ruth McKenney

TAKE any day last week. Take Monday. On Monday the Communist Party of America: organized half a dozen big relief-demonstrations in six big American cities; went to press with a weekly Chinese-American paper, in Chinese; sat in on four peace meetings and talked collective security until all hands were hoarse; organized eighteen dances for benefit purposes, in New York City, chief feature of which will be red-hot swing music; published three daily newspapers in English;

Collected money for Spain, China, Tom Mooney, the Scottsboro boys, and twenty-two other labor victims, most of them not famous; organized tenants' rent-strikes in four slum districts of New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia; issued seven new nickel-pamphlets on subjects ranging from how to bring the price of bread down to the Marxian analysis of Norman Thomas' peace program (unfavorable); offered advice and solid organizational assistance to thirteen different union drives; helped plan the programs and get out the vote in seventeen different communities where Labor's Non-Partisan League and other budding progressive groups are struggling for a foothold;

Raised hell with four public officials in New York and other towns via telephone calls and letters; held 324 committee meetings in eighty-nine cities and villages on subjects ranging from industrial insurance to what'll we do about getting a free swimming pool for the Northside slum districts; pushed the sale of eighteen different books in twenty-four workers' bookshops; and issued 114 mimeographed shop papers distributed at the gates of 114 factories in forty-three cities.

Of course, this is just a rough sketch. I haven't mentioned twenty-seven committee meetings touching on the problem of what should intellectuals do about the W.P.A. white-collar-project bills in Congress; four gatherings on how to apply the people's-front line to the religious question; putting the *Communist,* a monthly theoretical publication, to press; picketing in 178 strikes; and boosting the sale of the *Daily Worker* to party members.

Yes sir, on Monday Communists were hotly debating (a) how to use spotlights to better advantage at Madison Square Garden meetings, (b) terms of fourteen different strike settlements, (c) party policy on the T.V.A., and (d) what swing band to get for the Upper Bronx Section Committee dance.

Communists were getting in their licks Monday, and usually to great effect, on nearly everything of any community importance in these United States, from getting more milk for Mrs. Glotz's baby in Emporia, Kans., to attacking Senator Copeland's Maritime Bill. And I think it is only fair to remind the no-doubt already staggered reader that the Communist Party has 75,000 members almost none of whom have any money to speak of, many or most of whom are factory workers, day laborers, housewives, whose only influence in any city or town is the very special fact that they are Communists.

One more thing: out of the 75,000 members, on Monday 74,999 were raising unholy hell about the inefficiency of the party and listen, we simply have to work harder, comrades, our record in this section smells to high heaven. The other party member was very sick, although his wife reported that in his delirium he constantly called out, "What's the matter with this unit anyway? Why don't we sell more *Daily Workers?* Why don't we organize more demonstrations? Are we Communists or are we mice?"

The only people in the United States who do not think that the Communist Party accomplishes more per member than any other organization in the world are the members of the Communist Party. Senator Copeland thinks the Communist Party does awful wonders with its 75,000 members — but Earl

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der is always pointing out that the boys could do a lot better if they just put their minds to it. Your typical Communist is a man who thinks that Communists can and should do anything—anything under the sun, from letting the President know where he's just a little wrong, to advising Sinclair Lewis how lousy his last book was, to passing out free advice to mothers on how to feed the baby. Funny part is, Communists can and actually do perform all those tasks and plenty more, and always better than anybody else.

WE NOW PASS ON to the question, how do they do it? What makes this remarkable outfit of 75,000 workers and a sprinkling of intellectuals play such an important role in the affairs of a nation of 130,000,000 people? How does the Communist Party click anyway?

The Communist Party is such an intricate —intricate, not mysterious—organization that the business of unraveling its functioning is nearly as staggering as just listing its myriad activities. But to begin with, you have: item one—the fact that its members are emotionally and intellectually Communists. Now this is just a flat statement and may not mean much to Senator Copeland or the man who writes those ripe, Red-baiting editorials in Hearst's *Journal-American.*

However, the real reason why 75,000 men and women can accomplish modern miracles in these United States is that each and every one of the 75,000 is convinced that Socialism is the only correct and decent solution to the problems of the world. Of course some of the comrades understand more Marx and Lenin than others—Earl Browder is the general secretary of the party "precisely because" he applies the Marxist-Leninist ideas to the current situation better than anyone else in the organization. On the other hand, Comrade Halcon of Akron, Ohio, a rubber worker when he works, who was born in Alabama and only got through the second grade of a rural Southern school, is also a good party member because, although he can't debate dialectical materialism with a college professor, he does understand certain fundamental things about exploitation, workers owning natural resources and factories, and the final victory of Socialism.

The reason why Comrade Halcon gets up at 4 a.m. to pass out shop papers at the gates of the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. main factory; the reason why he has twice risked his life in strike battles; the reason why he sits through interminable meetings that bore him a little; is that he believes, intellectually and with all the passion of his heart, that Socialism is the hope of men everywhere and that every decent, courageous worker of America should fight for Socialism and belong to the Communist Party.

Both Comrade Halcon and Earl Browder give their lives, and not just part of their lives, to the Communist Party. Nobody pays them anything, in cash I mean, for this gift. Indeed, they both give a rather considerable sum of their small earnings for Spain, for the *Daily Worker,* for Tom Mooney, for China.

But then, nobody, even in this capitalistic society, can buy what Comrade Halcon—and Earl Browder—give to the Communist Party. J. P. Morgan can buy eight hours a day of a man's time, or he can buy twenty hours—a man has to sleep sometime—but J. P. Morgan can't buy a man's heart and his soul.

The Communist Party, you see, rides on twelve cylinders because its members are willing to sacrifice everything, even their lives, for its victory. No other organization in America can say the same for its members.

That's the bedrock, then. But eagerness and self-sacrifice and fundamental knowledge aren't enough. Even 75,000 whole-souled Communists could flounder around helplessly without a disciplined super-functioning organization. So we now come around to item two: the "monolithic party," plus "democratic centralism."

Now this business about monolithic parties and democratic centralism sounds pretty forbidding. Lots of good party members, Comrade Halcon among them, can tell you exactly how the party works, who elects whom, what the state executive committee has to do with the national convention and Earl Browder, and still can't quite wrap their tongues around a good definition of the "monolithic party," not to mention "democratic centralism."

I think the best way of defining anything is to show its history, how it got started, what it meant to the man or men who had the idea and coined the phrases in the first place. So we will now skip back some years, gentlemen, to those stirring days when the Yanks were coming back from over there, to march down Broadway in a sea of torn-up telephone books and wake up the next morning to find that the war to make the world safe for imperialism had left them minus a job.

The year is 1919. The Versailles peace is being committed in Paris; ladies are wearing slit skirts and showing silk-covered knees to horrified passersby; Andy Volstead is the lion of the ladies' clubs; people are still singing, "How you goin' to keep him doawn on the fa-arm—after he's seen Paree?"; Franklin D. Roosevelt is a minor official in the Navy Department; the baby Soviet republic is fighting for its life against the interventionists and the New York *Times* has Lenin dead every other day; Greenwich Village has the country on its ear with its new-fangled notions of sex for sex's sake; the lost generation is preparing, in countless bars, to get lost—and in New York City assorted members of the Socialist Party are sitting around beefing about Morris Hillquit and what do we do now?

You see, assorted Socialists who belonged

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to the American Socialist Party were, in 1919, fed up to the ears with the leadership, organization, and every other detail of the oldtime party. In dreary little meeting-halls, in barren and not very well heated tenement flats, the boys from the left wing hashed over their criticisms of Mr. Hillquit's party.

As for instance—item: The current Socialist Party was mainly concerned with electioneering, getting out the vote, copping off minor city-offices for the boys, and didn't give two whoops in hell for the working people of the country.

Item: The Socialists were even afraid to come out and say any longer that at some conveniently distant time they were for Socialism. They concentrated on "good" government and soft pedaled the business about workers owning industry.

Item: The Socialist Party was a conglomerate affair, mostly made up of that kind of lawyer, teacher, doctor, etc., who thought the Socialist Party was a nice respectable way to be liberal. In fact, it had gotten so bad that a man in overalls stuck out like a sore thumb in any Socialist local meeting.

Item: There wasn't any such thing as discipline in the party. The boys would get together and go to all the trouble of adopting resolutions against war and then most of the leadership would coolly throw the convention decisions overboard and nobody in the party dared speak up and call the gents to account.

Item: The official Socialist Party publications, newspapers, magazines, and so on were about as much official Socialist papers as the *Journal-American* (Hearst) is an official Roosevelt-administration paper. Big-shot Socialists controlled the papers, wrote what they pleased in them, and circulated them among the membership, willy-nilly.

Item: The Socialist Party, in theory and practice, could only yawn when it came around to trade-union problems. The boys in the top leadership had a sort of unofficial hands-off agreement with old Samuel (Let's-have-a-heart-to-heart-talk-with-the-bosses) Gompers, and party members were neither asked nor supposed to take even a faint interest in the whole trade-union movement.

And there were plenty other items too. For years the revolt against what the theoretical experts called "reformism" had been brewing inside the Socialist Party—and outside. A lot of the best and toughest fighters in the American left-wing movement never joined the old Socialist Party at all—they were I. W. W.'s or Syndicalists or whatnot.

The smoldering revolution inside the considerably down-at-the-heels Socialist Party never materialized into anything solid however, until 1919, mostly because the left-wing comrades weren't quite sure of their ground and couldn't agree on just what had to be done to start the ball rolling toward the working-class revolution in America.

BUT IN OCTOBER 1917 the Bolshevik Party showed the world how revolutions were made, and the gents who didn't like Hillquit pricked up their ears. For several exciting months news of the man called Lenin and his doings and sayings filtered back to the homebodies in New York and assorted other cities in America.

Finally, their theoretical differences more or less cleared up, and with the main ideas under control, the Socialist Party left-wing laid down a famous platform, and in September 1919, two groups of gents with more or less the same revolutionary principles founded two Communist Parties. A year later both sets of Communists got together and the present Communist Party emerged from its birth pangs.

Now of course no revolutionary party springs full-born from any Marxian Jove's brow. Revolutionary parties, like revolutionists, are exceedingly human and have to be born and have a childhood and sprout pimples and have their voices change, to finally grow up into a full-sized, well-equipped organization, full of experience and ready to battle it out with the Girdler and Morgan opposition.

So the American Communist Party at its first convention missed a couple of points here and there, but at least it laid the basis for a monolithic organization, operated by democratic centralism. (I bring these tough little words up again just to make sure you-all are still with me there.)

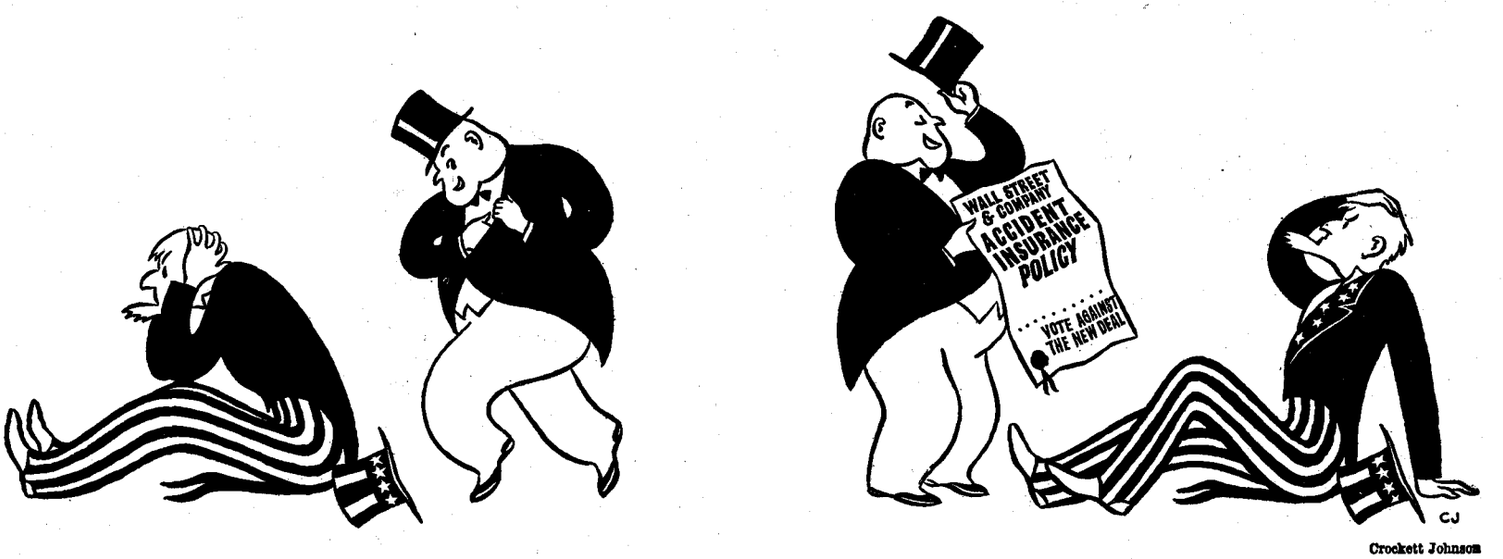
As for instance: the boys decided right off that this was going to be a workers' organization, of, for, and by workers. Artists and doctors and lawyers were welcome of course—but on the other hand, the party would seek the bedrock of its membership from factories and mines and garment shops and fo'c's'les.

Item: The party was going to be democratic—which the old Socialist Party never was; the leaders used to walk all over a mere member.

But on the other hand, although every member had a vote and the discussion was to be free and fierce, the new party was going to have discipline. Discipline meant that after the talk was over, and the vote finally taken, the majority won and even the minority was bound by the vote.

And again—item: This type of democracy within the party was a sort of progressive affair—units, the smallest group in the party, elected people to the section committee, the section elected to the district, and so on up. Conventions decided party policy and the elected officials decided party tactics.

I think at this point I should break the good news to everybody that you have just read a loose but workable definition of democratic centralism—or, to put it more concisely, democratic centralism is the business of



Crockett Johnson

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running an organization permeated from top to bottom by working democracy along disciplined lines. Back of the idea of democratic centralism is the more or less practical notion that you can't fight a war when half the army retreats and the other half barges ahead into a machine-gun nest.

Everybody may now clear his throat while we drop back, refreshed by this brief excursion into pure theory, to our budding Communists of 1920. You will remember the ex-Socialists have just decided what kind of rules they were going to obey, and who was going to belong to the new revolutionary organization.

The boys talked over a lot of other points at the early meetings, but one very important idea got the main emphasis—day-by-day fighting. Now the Socialists believed, when they brought the subject up at all, that the American working class would one day just rise up and vote a Socialist society into existence. Nobody had any clear idea of when that was going to be, or how it was going to come about, but the Socialists thought they were giving their all to the revolution when they organized Bellamy Clubs.

The new Communist Party, on the other hand, had different ideas. They believed the way to lead the working class to eventual victory was to get in there and fight for better wages and hours and housing and whatnot, on the theory that the only way workers could learn that unity could mean victory was through experience. So from the beginning Communists tossed overboard the Socialist notion of ignoring or even boycotting the entire trade-union movement, and laid plans to work inside even the old, corrupt A. F. of L. unions. It is an interesting commentary on the Socialist Party that the namby-pamby gents from the tea-drinking sect of "revolutionists" had never even considered this most obvious way of getting at the American working class.

Well, the American Communist Party wasn't made overnight. The comrades had plenty of tough going for a long time. The Palmer raids put the party underground and that's a hard experience for an outfit that's new. Then when the party was again legalized its membership was low and although the boys had the theory right, they had a lot of trouble getting started with the business of actually working with and in basic sections of the working class.

But out of the lean years emerged a strong, mature party. And the basic principles remained the same: party membership was open, not to half-hearted sympathizers, but to men and women ready to give their devotion to the Revolution; who were eager to belong to a functioning unit of the organization, such as a shop unit (not just willing to drop around for a dish of tea and a chat once a month at a local meeting); and who were prepared to perform assignments from the leadership.

The party itself, made up, as you note, of active, functioning members who actually were expected to do work, and lots of it, rather than just go to the polls every two years and put an X beside a candidate's name, was a democratic but disciplined organization. Everybody could put in his two cents' worth when he had a mind to—but everybody, from Earl Browder down was expected to string along with the organization after the chairman called for the question.

WHICH brings us back to 1938 and the enormously more powerful and numerous Communist Party of today. But don't get the idea that democratic centralism is as simple in operation as I have made it sound from this all too brief squint at history.

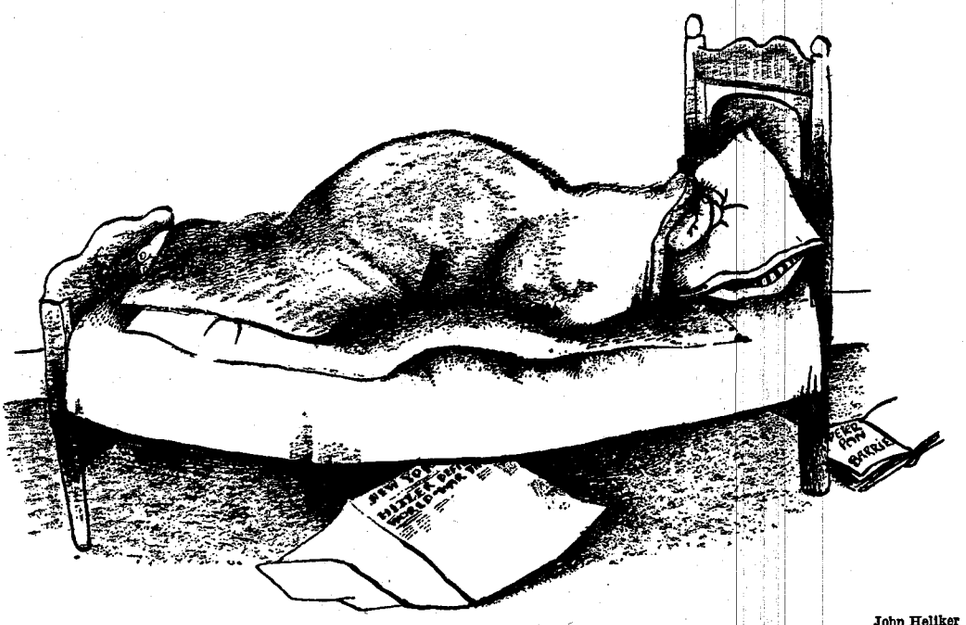
No indeed. If you could pick a Communist Party unit in Wabash, Ind., and show how its members elect and control Earl Browder, all in a single sentence, you would be doing well. The American Communist Party is an enormously complex organization—because it is an enormously adaptable one. Communists can't sit around and quibble about niceties of rules when the situation gets hot. Instead, American Communists invent new forms of their party every other day. Thus you have women's commissions (to take care of the lady question which is very pressing); and railroad-concentration units (to help out the comrades inside this division of the transport industry where the going is plenty tough); also street units, trade-union factions, trade-union bureaus; and section committees and detached national organizers of the party; also such things as section reps and district secretaries; also the political bureau; also the central committee; also industrial units for the soap-making business; not to overlook the youth commission and the farm commission and the Hungarian, the Polish, the German, the Chinese, the Italian, the Latvian, and the Turkish commissions.

Et cetera. It is the et cetera which I wish to emphasize. I do not wish to discourage anybody, but the Communist Party of America is as complex an organization as it is monolithic. And yet—and I think this is the most astonishing thing for a reporter—there is a surprising identity in intellectual and emotional approach, between the comrades of the cultural commission who go around trying to influence intellectuals (in a nice way of course) and the gents of the waterfront defense-committees who take a serious interest in Joe Ryan's goon squads, not, however, in a nice way. A nice way, I think I should add in justice to the comrades who wear blue-denim sailor-pants, would be fatal.

As for instance: in the cocktail lounges frequented by the editors of the *New Republic,* where elbow-bending is polite and expensive, to the waterfront-bars where it is vice versa, everywhere these days you hear Communists lifting their voices to argue collective security. The comrades from the waterfront may put the argument rather more colorfully than the warriors who meet the *New Republic* opposition. But whether a Communist says, "So what d'yew want, a poke in the eye from Hitler, or do you want this country to stand up with France and the Soviet Union and the workers of Great Britain and say, stand back, you rats, not one more inch. I tell you boys, either it's this here collective security or it's war, and duh you want to die?" or whether he says, "Bruce Bliven and Beard may mean well, gentlemen, but sooner or later and probably sooner, isolationism, the bankruptcy of the liberal, will lead us all into war," he's talking the Communist Party line. That's what they call "discipline."

And that's the strength that brings confusion to the camp of the enemy. From the college students who carry the torch for the young kids, to the scholars who stand for Marx inside the laboratory, to the seamen who read *Daily Workers* aloud in fo'c's'les, to the Negro sharecroppers who risk their lives to organize unions, American Communists stand united.

This is the first of two articles by Miss McKenney on the Communist Party of the United States. The second will appear in next week's issue.



John Heliker

The Isolationist

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Wreckers in High Places

By John Sutton

AS I was returning home early this year to the United States from Russia, a radiogram reached the ship, stating that Mikhail Chernoff, former Commissar of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R., was to be brought to trial for wrecking, sabotage, and other anti-government activities. I was not at all surprised. For less than a year had passed since I wrote a letter to Chernoff accusing him of some of those same crimes while he still occupied the high post of Commissar of Agriculture. I mention this not out of any desire to claim a share in the exposure of Chernoff, but merely as an expression of my belief in his guilt.

During the recent trial of Chernoff and the other twenty former Soviet leaders I have been besieged by people asking that I tell them "what is happening in Russia." In this article I shall confine myself to an account of some experiences I have had with Chernoff and other wreckers during the six-and-a-half years I spent in the Soviet Union.

It was in November 1931, during the days of the first Five-Year Plan that I, together with a group of nine other American Negroes, arrived in the U.S.S.R. We came on two-year contracts, at the invitation of the Commissariat of Agriculture, to work in Soviet agriculture. However, upon reaching Middle Asia where we were supposed to assume our duties, it turned out that we were not expected at that time; there was no place for us to stay in the hotels, and preparations were hastily made to give us all one large cold room in a second-rate boarding house. They apologized profusely and assured us that "zaftra" (the Russian word for "tomorrow") everything would be arranged and we would be sent directly to our jobs. But three weeks of "zaftra" passed and still neither work nor better rooms were in sight. So, accompanied by our interpreter, we went to the local cotton committee and demanded we be sent to our places of work. After considerable conferring among themselves, the committee informed us that, "It is the chief in Moscow who is to blame. He has not sent the telegram. Without the telegram we can do nothing."

At the current rate of exchange our idleness was costing the Soviet government $150 a day. This lasted three months. Somebody suggested that the government was trying to propagandize us, make Communists of us, but cold, crowded rooms could hardly be considered good instruments of propaganda. Finally, one day, the interpreter burst in on us breathlessly. "Comrade Reingold has sent the telegram from Moscow."

Our group was immediately distributed between two experimental stations not far outside of Tashkent, then the capital city of Middle Asia. Here again complications arose in the assignments to work. A poultry expert was given the task of inventing a mechanical cotton-picker; an agronomist was assigned to work in a cytology laboratory. In the same way the rest of us, with perhaps one or two exceptions, were misfits at our jobs, and naturally dissatisfaction with us arose among the Soviet workers. They said: "Why do these foreigners get more money than we do? Are they really specialists, or fakers?"

We complained to Mr. Reingold, the Vice-Commissar of Agriculture in Moscow; we wrote asking that he give us jobs corresponding to our qualifications. In reply he sent a subordinate to us, who said, "If you aren't satisfied with the conditions we are giving, you can go home." This was a bolt from the blue. Why go home? There was a surplus of work in the Soviet Union and a dearth of specialists. Obviously, "we niggers were being shown our place" just as clearly as we could have been shown it in America, we concluded. After all, the "equality" of Socialism was just another high-sounding phrase.

The upshot of the matter was that we wrote a letter to the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. This control organization sent us not an ordinary inspector, but a high official who, having investigated the situation, roundly criticized the local officials for their attitude toward us. "The Negro specialists came to help fulfill the Five-Year Plan in agriculture," he said, "and they must be provided proper conditions. They must be assigned duties in which their capabilities will be utilized to the fullest extent."

Not only was the Reingold group surprised at our militancy and good tactics, but we astonished ourselves; we found out that we had rights that even white people were forced to respect. However, our success was short-lived. Within the next couple of months we all received notice that after the expiration of the contract term in October 1933, our services would no longer be needed. It was made clear that we were being discharged because of incompetence.

But having tasted victory once, we were not discouraged by this new reverse. In September 1933, several of us, accompanied by a reporter from the Moscow *Daily News,* visited Reingold at his office. We found this gentleman sitting at the head of a long table covered with bright red felt; a young man of about thirty-six with a lean, handsome profile, he was dressed in a dark suit and had something of a foppish air about him. He politely invited us to be seated. Then, addressing us in French, he asked if we would like to converse with him in that language. No, thanks! We preferred to speak in Russian through one of the members of our group. I was that member. Listening to my account of the difficulties in Tashkent, he simulated surprise. Why, he knew nothing at all about this, he said. We knew that was a lie, for in front of him on the table lay a letter which we recognized as the one which had been sent from Tashkent, explaining all details of our business. He smiled, shrugged his shoulders, pretended not to understand just what we wanted. He ended by turning our question over to some of his subordinates "for study."

WE WERE VERY MUCH DISCOURAGED with the way things went, but the Moscow *Daily News* reporter told us not to worry. "Knowing that a newspaper representative was present and listening in on the discussion, he will hardly dare to make a false move," he said. "But in case he does try, we shall appeal to high-control organs where we are sure of redress."

Reingold did not dare make a false move. At his proposal, an order was issued by the First Assistant Commissar of Agriculture to various divisions of the Commissariat to "provide suitable living and working conditions so that these foreign specialists may be utilized to the fullest extent." Our Negro group was broken up, and I signed a contract with the Rice Experimental Station to assume the duties of chemist at their laboratories in the city of Krasnodar. The work there was interesting, and I was permitted to begin original research directed toward the utilization of rice-straw. More than 150,000 tons of this straw are destroyed each year in the Soviet Union. So I set to work on this problem, and within six months I was successful in producing under laboratory conditions a jute-like fiber from rice-straw. Exhaustive tests indicated rice fiber could be utilized as a substitute for jute in the manufacture of binding cord suitable for use in grain binders, and this fact is of great significance to the Soviet national economy: jute must be imported. The director of our station was overjoyed at my discovery and suggested that I go to Moscow in quest of an appropriation for the realization of this work.

Consequently, in September of 1934 I found myself on a financial mission in Moscow. But the sledding was not easy. When I tried to see Mr. Reingold again, his secretary refused me an interview. I went directly to the complaint bureau of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union, and explained my business. They telephoned Reingold, and I secured the appointment. He had been reduced from Vice-Commissar of Agriculture to a lower position, and he was not his debonair, foppish self; his face was haggard, and he talked quietly, obviously under strain. He looked at my samples of fibers and binding cords, questioned me about the project, and referred me to his first assistant, Mr. Kras-

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noshokov (whose name when translated means "Red Cheeks"). The latter spoke English fluently, having lived at one time in Chicago as a political exile from czarist Russia. "If this proposition," he said, "can be arranged so that my institute [he was director of the New Fiber Institute in Moscow] can get some profit out of it, then I'm in favor of it." I thought the word "profit" a peculiar one, but in perfect English, he assured me that was the way things were usually done. "The Soviet way," he said. Consequently I did as he asked; I included his "profit" (about forty thousand rubles) in the budget which I submitted for his approval. He approved it and so did Reingold. Now all that remained was to get an official order from the Commissar of Agriculture, and then the work would begin to hum.

Order No. 4847 of the Commissariat of Agriculture, issued September 10, 1934, was a milestone in my life. The "big chance" had come at last. "To consider expedient the experimental exploitation of the method of preparing fibers from rice-straw proposed by Comrade John Sutton," reads the order. The exact amount requested in my budget, 93,000 rubles, was appropriated and the money was to be given in its entirety to Krasnoshokov's New Fiber Institute. The Rice Experimental Station had hoped to get at least a part of these funds for developing the work there in its laboratories, and I so indicated in the budget. I objected strenuously to the fact that Krasnoshokov's institute was to receive all the money. However, they assured me that this was in order, as there was only Soviet economy and there was no competition within itself; it really made no difference through which institution the money was spent. "This is not America with private ownership," they assured me.

BACK IN KRASNODAR the director of the experimental station, having learned that he was to get none of the funds for developing the work, greeted me coldly. "You have betrayed the Rice Experimental Station," he said, "and you must leave here for good." And suiting the action to the words, he immediately ordered me to surrender all documents and papers relating to the method of preparing fibers from rice-straw, which I did. While still receiving my salary, I was completely idle.

For two months I vainly appealed to various control organizations, trying to get the papers returned so that I might continue my work. So again I left for Moscow. There I found that Reingold had again been reduced, apparently on suspicion of political treachery and murder. I went to another member of the Agricultural Department, named Klimenko (he, incidentally, had also been reduced), and appealed to him, requesting that the director of the station be ordered to return to me the documents pertaining to my work. He refused to give any such order. "You are a foreigner," said he, "and the director was justified in safeguarding Soviet interests by taking the formulas away from you. It was his duty." At first I attempted to defend myself, but seeing that it was useless, I desisted.

In December 1934, a no less distinguished person than Maria Ilynovna Ulianova, sister of Lenin, received me. Of course, it was not such a simple matter to get to her, but at that it was simpler than trying to see some of those "moguls" in the Commissariat of Agriculture. Miss Ulianova (she was manager of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection) was very pleasant, and asked me what I wished. I explained. After listening attentively she called in one of her assistants and told him to see that the formulas were returned to me. This young man, whose name was Berson, took me into his office where he called Klimenko over the telephone and inquired about the matter. From the length of time that Berson listened to Klimenko's explanation over the phone I guessed that it was a lie. It was. He said that he had not refused to aid me in receiving the formulas, but that he was still investigating. "Would his final answer be ready by tomorrow evening?" asked Berson. "Yes," replied Klimenko. But when I went to see him, he tried to save his face by politely putting me off.

Mr. Krasnoshokov, the director of the New Fiber Institute, was also up to tricks. Someone had caught on, or was about to catch on, to his manipulations with the budget money, and he now wanted to kill my whole proposition. He told me there was too much argument going on, and he was recommending to Chernoff, the Commissar of Agriculture, that the work be dropped entirely. I got in touch with the editorial board of the official newspaper of the Commissariat of Agriculture, and there I found a sympathetic young man, an Armenian, who asked permission of his editor-in-chief to write up my story. At the same time an inspector from the Control Department of the Commissariat of Agriculture, a woman named Makarova, investigated and discovered that Krasnoshokov was not only guilty in this case but in many others, and had wasted millions of rubles. She attempted to bring the thing to a head and have Chernoff hold a "trial" of Krasnoshokov, with me as the accuser. But Chernoff refused: he had to protect Krasnoshokov to save his own face. Makarova, on the other hand, did not dare to make any outright accusation of those so high in office; the combination of the newspaper article and her investigation brought some result, but the teeth had been drawn out of it. Although my project was removed from the New Fiber Institute to the Experimental Station, the financing was to continue as formerly. And I was still out of work.

I had harvested some rice-straw the previous season, stacked and protected it against the time I should need it. Now when the need had arisen, there was no straw; someone had opened the stack and the straw had gone bad. Another consignment, from Moscow, was stored in a leaky warehouse and also spoiled. They swore to me by all that was holy that the roof of the warehouse was intact; louder and louder rose the voices that I was a "mercenary," a "faker."

I was pretty well frightened. Although I was guilty of no crime, with the spoilage of straw and organizational difficulties, circumstantial evidence was piling up against me. Already, in the middle of 1935, I knew that Krasnoshokov, Zaitsev, and Paskutsky (vital members of the Commissariat) were linked in their opposition to my work. I would have chucked the whole business if Russian friends had not warned me of such a move. No sooner would I step out than Krasnoshokov and his clique would have me "investigated" by their hand-picked men, and then I would be in trouble. As one fellow expressed it, "You have laid a swine in their beds with your many complaints, and they are just waiting to lay many swine in your bed."

Sinister forces could and did operate in the Soviet state, I had learned, but if one knew how to fight them and could "take it" the sure, but sometimes slow, control organizations would eventually put things right. I was more than willing to take a chance on the one system that really gives a black man chance. Of course I still had my Americ passport and could take permanent leave whenever I wished. But I never once considered such a possibility.

I STILL BELIEVED Chernoff would set things right. My letters went to him regularly, requesting aid, but I received no answer. Then Zaitsev played his master card: for three months he refused to pay me any salary. I sold my personal belongings, borrowed from friends, and wrote Chernoff and Paskutsky. My trade union, an organization that I had

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The Hiring Hall

The air is blue with nervous smoke;
Men in knotted little groups or sitting
alone with a well worn paper;
The wall plastered with bulletins and
lithographs of sailing vessels.
Tattoos; a greasy cap over one ear;
Men walking back and forth;
Two tables of pinochle and a man snoring;
Here on the post is a memorial to Bob
La Follette.
A ring—it's the phone, we cover up our
startled expectation.
Dispatcher gets up slowly.
Just another call to him—
Lifts the receiver from the hook:
"....Who? . . . Murray . . (louder now)
. .'s Murray in the hall?"
The permit men look disgusted; we move
away;
The pinochle game continues; I roll another cigarette;
Old Jacobs starts snoring again. "Son of a
bitch," we say. "How much longer?"

FRITZ VON MEIER

(From "A Song of the Sea")

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not appealed to earlier, stepped in and forced a salary. But by this time, in the beginning of 1936, I was a complete nervous wreck. I suffered from what appeared to be partial paralysis of the left side of my body, though it turned out later to be a hysterical complaint. I tried to get help, even going to Chernoff. He adopted a defensive attitude at once, saying that he was not responsible for my illness; in effect he refused to do anything to help. Finally I wrote a letter to Stalin, and very shortly aid came, in the form of a place in one of the most famous nerve-sanatoriums in the U.S.S.R.

After my release from the sanatorium some four-and-a-half months later, Chernoff called a "rice-straw" conference in his office. On January 28, 1937, along with Krasnoshokov, Zaitsev, and their supporters, twelve men strong, I went there. Their representative stated that colossal sums of money had been spent on the work with rice-straw and that no benefits had come from them. Since I had directed this work, which was a "failure," this indicated that I either intentionally or unintentionally wasted government funds. Which of these he did not say, obviously out of deference to the "state of my health."

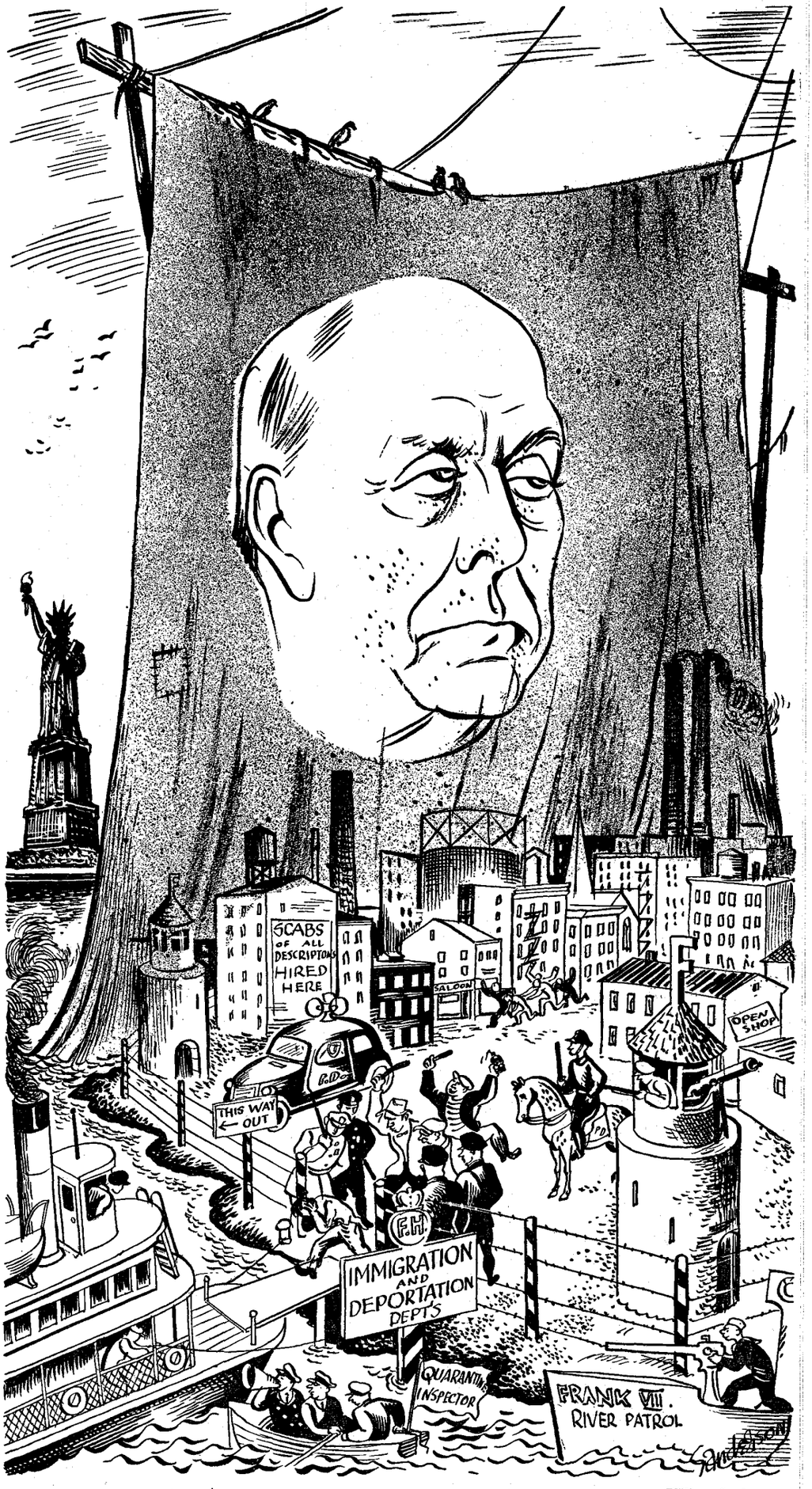
From that day seven months passed in which I suffered the most refined tortures. My salary was doubled, and paid regularly, but they would not let me work. "Comrade Chernoff has not signed the order yet," they kept saying. In all probability I would have lost my reason but for the hope which had led me to put my trust in Stalin.

In August 1937, I was formally released from all connections with this work. In October a medical commission, having no relation to the Commissariat of Agriculture, awarded me, because of impaired health, a monthly pension and a transfer to work as a translator.

As to Reingold, Chernoff, Krasnoshokov, Zaitsev, Klimenko, and Paskutsky, they no longer obstruct the Soviet economy. In 1936 Reingold had been tried, convicted, and executed for complicity in the murder of Sergei Kirov and for an attempt to overthrow the Soviet state. Chernoff was removed from office in November 1937. During this same period Krasnoshokov, Zaitsev, Klimenko, and Paskutsky left the public service in a like manner. That they were "enemies of the people," as I had so frequently charged, was established by the Soviet authorities.

The question of motives behind all these things, which so long eluded me, I now see clearly. As I read Chernoff's testimony in the newspapers from day to day, I fully understood that I was a mere "accidental causality," so to speak, in a conspiracy that involved the fate of 170,000,000 people.

However, I cannot help but wonder at the political blindness of the plotters. Why did not these men see what I saw: that the Soviet people cherish their Socialist form of government and love their leader, Stalin? They are determined in their striving toward the better life and will brook no enemies, whether domestic or foreign.



William Sanderson

Mayor Hague Solves the Problem of the Statue of Liberty's Embarrassing Proximity to Jersey City

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Escott

THE LAMB IN LION'S CLOTHING

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Progressive Decision

ONCE more the Supreme Court has confounded its best tory friends. It has unanimously upheld the National Labor Relations Board in ordering the Mackay Radio & Telegraph Co. to reinstate five former strikers. It has acted on a request by Solicitor General Jackson and directed the three judges of the Third Circuit Court of Appeals to show cause next Monday why their order preventing the N.L.R.B. from withdrawing its action against the Republic Steel Corp. should not be vacated. It has overruled a three-judge federal-court decree enjoining the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union from picketing the Kansas City plants of the Donnelly Garment Co.

The Mackay Radio decision is of particular importance because it involves the question of N.L.R.B. procedure which has been the object of a campaign of misrepresentation in the reactionary press. It is significant that in the Mackay Radio case the board followed the same procedure as in the Republic, Ford, and other cases, of not having the trial examiner issue an intermediate report. In his opinion Justice Roberts apparently upholds this procedure, declaring, "The contention that the respondent was denied a full and adequate hearing must be rejected."

Dog Eat Dog

THE first armed uprising organized by European fascism in the Western hemisphere has been crushed, and the Vargas dictatorship of Brazil is now busy hunting down the last of the putschists. The headlines announcing the rebellion as fascist told the truth, but only half the truth; it was a rebellion of one faction of the fascists against the other, a struggle for power with points of similarity to the fascist uprising in Vienna in 1934, when Dollfuss was assassinated. Fascism assumes special forms in each country, and Brazil is no exception. Vargas felt compelled to deny the real character of his dictatorship when he seized power last November, because he knew the great masses of the Brazilian people were intensely opposed to fascism. He sought a formula that would satisfy all the three main fascist trends of the ruling class of Brazil, and at the same time not completely alienate American and British capital, upon which Brazil's financial structure is based. But the inner strife in the Integralist Party was too acute to be resolved without an open clash. There were three main groupings: (1) those who wanted a policy of open collaboration with Hitler and Mussolini; (2) those fascists who thought it safest to maneuver until the regime was thoroughly established in Brazil, without antagonizing the United States; and (3) the most fanatically fascist elements, who were for an immediate regime of anti-Semitic brutality on the Nazi model.

The second faction appears victorious at the moment, but the struggle is not over. Nor is "democracy established" in Brazil, as Vargas' ambassador in Washington would have the American people believe. The only guarantee for the defeat of fascism and the establishment of democracy in Brazil lies, not in the Vargas dictatorship, but in the unity of all honest Brazilians, for a return to the 1934 Constitution and the holding of new elections. Freely held elections would settle the hash not only of the more open fascists in Brazil, but of the Vargas dictatorship as well.

The Smelly State Department

SOMETHING is rotten in the State Department. Evidence of it is rapidly accumulating. The latest bit is the denial of a United States visa to William Gallacher, distinguished British labor leader, writer, and Communist spokesman in Parliament. Mr. Gallacher's declared purpose in visiting this country was to attend the Tenth National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States on May 26—a legal convention of a legally constituted and functioning political party. And needless to say, the aim of the Communist Party Convention will be not to undermine democracy and democratic institutions in this country, but to devise further ways and means of strengthening and extending them. Our career diplomats and consular employees abroad, however, are so busy genuflecting before fascists and tories that they cannot find the energy to observe common decency in their treatment of representatives of the democratic masses.

The sinister character of the denial of a visa to a man of Mr. Gallacher's political beliefs is accentuated by the fact that notorious fascists like Putzy Hanfstaengel and Vittorio Mussolini found no trouble in entering and staying in this country. Is this a case of spiritual affinity between the gentlemen in our diplomatic services and the fascist barbarians? There is every reason to believe so. Sensitive Washington observers are reporting with growing unanimity the putrid smell of fascist ideology and influence in our State Department.

An Astonishing Volte Face

THE role of the State Department in swinging the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to lay aside the Nye resolution which called for the lifting of the arms embargo against Spain is another instance in point. We have it on excellent authority, including the New York *Times* Washington correspondent and Messrs. Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen of "Merry-Go-Round" fame, that early in May both the State Department and the Senate administration leaders, moved by the deluge of appeals from great public organizations and prominent public men, had decided to support the Nye resolution. Roosevelt himself, who was then on a fishing trip, was, according to authoritative reports, for a drastic revision of the Neutrality Act. It seemed quite certain then that the administration's move would meet with little opposition in either the House or the Senate.

Then came the astonishing *volte face*. What was in the back of it can only be conjectured. One hypothesis is that the news of the impending revision of the Neutrality Act was deliberately released by the fascist-minded group in the State Department in order to warn the pro-Franco elements in this country, especially the high-power Catholic pressure groups, as well as the pro-fascist Chamberlain government of Great Britain, and thus elicit a barrage of violent objections from the former, and gentle but firm diplomatic remonstrances from the latter. In re-

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leasing the news prematurely, the gentlemen of the State Department hoped for what has actually taken place: in the words of the *Times,* "The publication of the fact, as often happens in controversial matters, changed the fact itself."

The thing worked perfectly. While still on his fishing trip, the President was bombarded with "urgent messages from his Catholic friends." These messages must have been rather persuasive. The "publication of the fact" also had the other anticipated effect. Sir Ronald Lindsay, British Ambassador in Washington, requested a conference with Secretary Hull, which was most cordially granted. At that conference, "It is understood that Sir Ronald outlined in some detail his government's opinion as to the degree of damage which such a reversal of American policy would do to the program of pacification in which the Chamberlain government is now engaged. The proposal here to lift the Spanish embargo is understood to have caused something akin to consternation in high British diplomatic circles. . . ." Now Secretary Hull, like the other members of the State Department, is a gentleman; how could he resist the blandishments of the British diplomat? He couldn't. Nor could President Roosevelt. Nor could the worthy senators. Hence the sudden *volte face!*

The whole thing is disgraceful and disgusting. The blood of thousands of valiant fighters for democracy in Spain, the blood of thousands of innocent victims—men, women, children—of fascist depravity cries out for action. It is unthinkable that our great democracy will hypocritically wash its hands and wait till the spring of next year. The embargo must be lifted now, immediately. The will of the vast majority of the American people must be heeded.

New Deal Gains Ground

THERE has been a noticeable change in the Washington political weather in the last two weeks. The solid mass of tory storm-clouds has been broken by sunlight patches in the form of the successful drive to blast the Wages and Hours Bill out of the House Rules Committee, the victory of Senator Pepper in the Florida Democratic primaries, and the passage of the Roosevelt $3,154,000,000 Relief-Recovery Bill in the House by the succulent majority of 328 to 70. It is still too early to say that the clouds have lifted and the sun is shining, but the fact that the administration is reported to be considering reviving the Reorganization Bill at this session shows that the New Deal has taken long strides toward recapturing the initiative it had lost.

To organized labor—both wings of which united in support of the Wages and Hours Bill and the recovery program—and to the people of Florida go major credit for effecting this salutary change. The members of the House, all of whom must stand for reëlection this fall, are, of course, proving particularly sensitive to the winds of popular sentiment. The Senate, however, where only one-third of the incumbents must face the voters, may not be nearly so responsive. Vice-President Garner and his cabal of right-wing Republicans and Democrats are reported to be organizing their lines for a last-ditch stand.

The need for action in the growing emergency facing the country is attested by the Cleveland relief crisis. Governor Davey of Ohio, Liberty League Democrat, is now providing a test-tube demonstration of what the tory program of shifting the relief burden to the states and communities would mean in practice. The seventy thousand hungry and destitute in Cleveland are an eloquent argument for the swift passage of the President's recovery program. They are also an argument for the creation of a solid front of the democratic forces to oust the Daveys and their congressional counterparts in the coming elections.

Undermining the League

MANY disheartening things occurred at the recent meetings of the League of Nations Council in Geneva. England and France, once the mainstays of collective security in Europe, did everything in their power to undermine the League and to inaugurate the principle, "Everyone for himself and the devil take the hindmost." Not one of the victims of fascist aggression—neither Spain nor Ethiopia nor even China—received any redress or tangible assistance. Switzerland, threatening to take matters in her own hands, was allowed to resume her pre-war neutrality status. Chile announced her withdrawal from the League.

Actually Britain's sole interest in the Geneva meeting was to place the stamp of League approval on the deal with Mussolini and the betrayal of Spain. The League was thus invited to commit suicide by repudiating all its principles. Britain did not, however, succeed entirely in these amiable designs, thanks to the opposition of Spain, China, Ethiopia, Bolivia, New Zealand, and the Soviet Union. Lord Halifax failed to get the League's resolution refusing to give recognition to the Italian conquest of Ethiopia undone, though it was decided to permit the individual League members to act as they choose in the matter, which is bad enough. Ethiopia, whose moving plea proved decidedly embarrassing to Halifax, remains legally a member of the League, a nominal juridical status that is a poor substitute for the promise of concrete assistance which the League once held out to it. China alone achieved something more than the pious expressions of sympathy it had received in the past. The League Council passed a resolution urging the member states to give whatever individual assistance to China they can. And once more, let it be noted, the U.S.S.R. came forward as the leader of the genuine peace forces of the world, a formidable obstacle to fascist aggression and the "realistic" betrayals of Chamberlain and Bonnet.

And while the air at Geneva rang with much talk and little action, Konrad Henlein, Hitler's deputy in Czechoslovakia, made a pilgrimage—via Berlin—to the land of Chamberlain, there to draw tighter the noose round Czechoslovakian democracy. But perhaps, after all, these "realists" take too much for granted when they assume that it is they who will have the last word.

Soviet Moves for Peace

IN contrast to the confusion, vacillation, betrayal, and cowardice displayed by the foreign ministries of most of the democracies of Europe as well as our own State Department, it is heartening and refreshing to read what the extraordinarily informed British publication, the *Week,* in the May 4 issue, reports concerning the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R.:

> Though Eastern and Central Europe trembles from the shock of the German occupation of Austria, and bad news from London reaching Prague, Bucharest, Budapest, and Sofia combines to spread the psychology of defeat, Russian diplomacy—unreported in the British press—has gone a sensationally long way towards compensating that situation.
>
> The most sensational event of Eastern and Central Europe in the past few weeks is the emphatic manner in which the Russian government has been able to seek and ensue in the most concrete possible terms its long-standing policy of attempting to organize the "peace bloc" against the aggressor powers.
>
> Three concrete instances have gone a long way to recreating in Central and Eastern Europe the sense of the "capacity to resist" which is the most dangerous psychological barrier to the advance of Germany to continental hegemony.
>
> (1) When the Poles first drafted their scandalous ultimatum to Lithuania and mobilized troops on the frontier, Litvinov sent for the Polish representative in Warsaw and informed him in the most blunt terms that *unless the Poles removed from their ultimatum every demand except the relatively innocuous demands for the resumption of diplomatic relations, and if the Poles moved so much as a man across the Lithuanian frontier the Russians would march.* Within a few hours, the objectionable terms had been removed from the ultimatum, and the Poles did not march.
>
> (2) When the Nazi agents working with the Iron Guard kidnapped a prominent member of the Soviet Legation in Bucharest (whose near-double was afterwards produced in Rome as ostensibly the man himself) the Soviet government informed the Rumanian government that *unless the Ruma-*

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nian government within twelve hours called in agents of the French and Czech political police to investigate the affair in supplement of the Rumanian police (who were well known to be riddled with Nazi money) something exceedingly unpleasant was liable to happen.

Within twelve hours the French and Czech police were called in. And it was they who a short time later unearthed and presented to the King the evidence relating to the Codreanu putsch which the Rumanian police had been suppressing. The King acted upon it, and thus averted the threatened Nazi putsch in Rumania which would have instantly put the Rumanian oil wells at the disposal of the German war machine, and opened the long, long German trail to Constantinople, Angora, Bagdad, and the long, terribly exposed line, of the Irak pipeline, seen in Berlin as one of the lifelines of the West to sever which would be as valuable as to occupy Calais. Temporarily, at least, the Irak pipeline was saved, and the dream of Berlin-Bagdad was once again postponed.

(3) The assurances which Czechoslovakia has received of the practical intentions of the Soviet Union regarding the carrying out of its pledges have themselves probably been the major factor in reassuring the Czechs and confuting the defeatists at Prague within the past few weeks.

Mexico Acts Swiftly

MEXICO'S rupture of diplomatic relations with Britain took that country and the world at large by surprise. But this surprise may very well have forestalled another of a far more ominous character. The nature of this second surprise is indicated in a headline in Monday's New York *Herald Tribune:* "Church Roofs Armed to Balk Mexican Revolt." It is no secret that the leader of the reactionary and fascist forces in Mexico, Gen. Saturnino Cedillo, governor of the state of San Luis Potosi, has been preparing an armed uprising against the progressive Cárdenas government. The newspaper of the Mexican Communist Party, *El Machete,* recently published documentary proof of Cedillo's plottings. It is equally no secret that the portly Cedillo has established something more than platonic relations with Nazi agents and with American and British oil interests. President Cárdenas put the matter bluntly in an interview with the press last Thursday when he declared, according to the New York *Times,* that "the attitude of the United States and British oil companies seemed to be that they were either trying to overthrow the Mexican regime or were hoping to see it overthrown and hence were refusing to deal with Mexican officials."

It is against this background of growing preparations for fascist rebellion, instigated and financed by reactionary foreign interests, that the severance of relations with Britain must be viewed. In contrast to the Roosevelt administration, the Chamberlain government has given active support to the oil interests whom the Cárdenas regime deprived of a base of operations by its recent expropriation of their properties. By their arrogant demands and their machinations against Cárdenas, the British tories were encouraging those sinister forces that are attempting to convert Mexico into an outpost of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis. By its swift action in breaking off diplomatic relations, the Cárdenas government, backed by the new People's Front, the Party of the Mexican Revolution, and the great masses of workers, peasants, and small businessmen, has served notice on native and foreign reaction that Mexico will not be made into a second Spain. The least that Washington can do in this situation is to throw its political and moral weight behind our sister democracy below the Rio Grande.

Gannett and the Guild

ONE reason why Frank E. Gannett opposes the New Deal may be found in a decision just handed down by a trial examiner of the National Labor Relations Board. Last June Mr. Gannett combined his two Albany papers into one, the *Knickerbocker News,* in the course of a deal that gave Hearst a freer hand in Albany and Gannett a freer hand in Rochester. More than twenty employees were discharged, some of them, the Newspaper Guild charged, because of Guild activities. The N.L.R.B. trial examiner not only substantiates the charges in the case of three employees, whose reinstatement is ordered, but also finds that the Gannett papers have consistently discriminated against union members. In his report, which has been strangely neglected by the press, the examiner orders the Gannett company to post in each of its plants a notice that all employees have the right to organize. This will be good news to many of them, who have had no reason up to now to suspect it.

Deadlock in China Broken

THE deadlock on the South Shantung front in China was broken during the past week and the Japanese invaders, launching an encircling movement from both the North and the South, appear to have made considerable gains and are directly threatening Suchow. Chinese spokesmen deny, however, that the strategic Lung-Hai Railway has been cut east and west of Suchow, as the Japanese claim, and declare that the Japanese advance has been slowed up. Should Suchow fall, it would be a serious but by no means decisive loss. The Japanese would still be a long way from dominating the Central China war zone, and their troops and supply lines would be under constant fire of Chinese partisan troops, as is now the case in most of the territory which the Japanese have nominally captured.

In Spain rebel claims of having smashed their way to the coast east of Teruel have proved "premature." The government forces are holding up the fascist drive and it is still a long way from the coast where Franco's thrust toward Castellon and Valencia is far behind schedule. Meanwhile, the Pope's left hand has given formal diplomatic recognition to Franco at the same time that his right hand strikes at Franco's master, Hitler—a display of lack of political coördination which can hardly prove helpful to Catholics in Spain, Germany, or anywhere else. In this connection the New York *Times* has provided significant confirmation of the charge recently made by José Bergamin, prominent Catholic writer now in the United States, that the Pope's attacks on the Nazis have been suppressed in rebel Spain.

Art for the People

THE campaign for the enactment of a Federal Arts Bill in this session of Congress is making real headway. Hearings on the Pepper-Coffee Bill have been held by a Senate Subcommittee on Education and Labor. Senator Pepper, fresh from his New Deal victory in Florida, is reported to be prepared for vigorous action to place his bill before the Senate. Another bill has been unanimously recommended by a House Subcommittee on Patents, of which Representative Sirovich is chairman.

The House measure incorporates the fundamental features of the Pepper-Coffee Bill. It would set up a permanent federal bureau to make possible the continuance of the W.P.A. arts projects. This bill has the added advantage of eliminating certain controversial features which have stood in the way of complete unity behind the Coffee-Pepper proposal. Both the Federal Arts Committee and the Arts Unions Conference have agreed that for the sake of unity, there is no objection to the elimination of these features. The original measure called for the setting up of a panel of names, drawn up by artists' organizations, from which the President was to select the Commissioner and Bureau of Fine Arts. This provision was opposed by many unorganized artists on the ground that they would not be adequately represented. Moreover, the bureau, under the House plan, will be a part of the Department of the Interior, rather than an independent federal agency.

A writers' conference to further the campaign for a Federal Bureau of Fine Arts will be held Sunday afternoon, May 22, at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York. The conference call has been signed by the Poetry Society of America, the League of American Writers, the Writers' Local of the Workers' Alliance, and by a large number of prominent writers.

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FORSYTHE'S PAGE

Comrades . . . Your Ears!

OLD settlers around these parts will recall the days when I used to go about with pebbles in my mouth hoping to become Heywood Broun. That was in the great Banquet Era when Mr. Broun would rise on an average of two times a week and say a few well-memorized extemporaneous words, dressed in a wrinkled white shirt and a black tie which had obviously been hacked out of an old sock with a cookie-cutter. I was so envious of Mr. Broun's writing as to be constantly ill, but when he added a facility for speech which was as gargantuan as his presence, I was in despair.

I determined to become an orator.

Not having the courage to approach Mr. Broun and ask him his secret, I was thrown back on George Bernard Shaw as a model. As is well known, Mr. Shaw made himself a good speaker in defiance of the entire Fabian Society, getting to his feet on no provocation whatever and boring everybody silly in the early days when he was groping with his ideas. I figured that if Shaw had the Fabians as a background, I might be able to wangle an invitation out of some of the radical organizations which liked me well enough as a writer.

By dint of some negotiations, which I will not go into here, I received an invitation to address the I.W.O. Branch, Spuyten Duyvil. Arriving at eight-fifteen, I found I was in plenty of time for the eight-thirty meeting, which finally opened at ten. Before they could listen to the invited guest, however, it was necessary to have a short business session. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved; there was a request from the floor for a discussion of the agenda and an argument of some dimensions about a dance which was to be held in the fall. I went into action promptly at eleven-thirteen, facing a group of eager citizens who were feeling around behind them for their mittens and mufflers. I finished rather weakly at eleven-twenty, addressing myself exclusively to the chairman, who yawned and presently remarked that since we were alone, possibly the sensible thing would be to go out and hunt for a bar.

Thinking that it was merely an unfortunate choice of audiences which was affecting my confidence, I next appeared as a radio performer. This was an occasion when I acted as master of ceremonies for John Wexley, who had just written his play based on the Scottsboro case. It was a fifteen-minute stint on WEVD and I was to introduce John, who would then give the principal address, finishing in time for me to utter the last few summing-up phrases. It worked well. I introduced John; John spoke; John finished; and then I came hastily before the microphone to say you have just heard John Wexley, the well-known, etc., and I proceeded to finish the thing off. I read rather forcefully and beautifully from the manuscript I held in my hand and was only disturbed by the actions of the station announcer who stood at some distance off by the piano, and made frantic motions at me. I understood that well enough: he meant that time was short and I needed to hurry. I increased the pace, keeping my voice well-modulated withal and breathing carefully from the diaphragm, and finished with a burst of words—five minutes too soon!

One who has not experienced the sensation of thwarting the clock of a radio station has no notion of the power of science in these modern times. There was utter consternation. The announcer, a resourceful fellow, came forward and attempted to stall for the five minutes, but gave it up in despair. It was then a matter of the station pianist playing the piano, which she did . . . for *hours*. On and on—and I standing there with my head down in shame, the object of scorn from visitors who peeked in at us through glass doors and from the control men in the little execution chamber to the side, who looked at me with the cold pity one gives to the hopeless.

Rather daunted by the experience, I firmly resisted all invitations to speak and only surrendered when a young man called on me and said that the fate of—I'm not sure but I think it was the seamen's strike—depended upon my coming to a meeting and saying a few words. Just the sight of my face would bolster up the longshoremen and give them strength. It would be a small gathering of choice spirits and I could speak to them as man to man. I will admit that he *did* say it was to be at the Manhattan Opera House, but I have a distinct impression that he mentioned the presence there of a score of small meeting rooms where such modest sessions were held. At any rate, I was somewhat surprised upon arriving at the Manhattan Opera House on the evening of the date of our little gathering to find that the mounted police were riding about outside trampling the thousands who were unable to gain admittance. A sinking feeling struck me, and I was not wrong. This was the tidy little tete-à-tete I had consented to address.

There are living people within the range of these words who will remember that oration. There was nothing wrong with my being there, except that I had not prepared anything to say and was in no state to say it if I had. Not content with dangling me there before that irate horde, they had conceived the idea of having us speak under the spotlight. Speaking before a spotlight is exactly like speaking out of a well. You can't see a thing, although you know people are there. You have an idea they're smiling in no pleasant manner.

My belief in psychiatry is not profund, but there is some justification for the theory that these successive experiences may have altered my nature. If I dislike George E. Sokolsky, it is doubtless because a small fat man who saw me leaving the Manhattan Opera House that night looked at me commiseratingly and gave me what he must have imagined to be a smile of sympathy but which was in reality the most repulsive thing I have ever seen. It kept me away from the podium until Hollywood.

It has been well said that Hollywood is a fantasy—nothing is as it seems. It is a land of make believe and nobody knows it better than I do. At the moment I was riding the crest of the wave. People loved me. I was allowed to contribute to local charities. I discovered an old friend who had once achieved the impossible feat of starving to death in New York on a vegetable diet. He estimated that he would have starved twice as fast if he ate meat. He now had a home in Hollywood which looked like the county courthouse, wherein he had a room with twin *double* beds. Be that as it may, I succumbed to an invitation to address a meeting. Somehow I felt that this would be the last—and I was not wrong.

It was held at the home of a famous director and the admission was one dollar, and it was only later I discovered that the bulk of the audience willingly paid the fee for the purpose of looking over the furnishings, which had been discussed previously in a fan magazine. Since my speech was an outspoken defense of the left-wing theater, my listeners filled in the dull passages with quick looks around to find where the love nests, if any, were hidden. However, I recognized nothing of this at the moment, feeling that the lively air of my audience was a testimonial to the interest of my words, and I left the place with the conviction that I had at last won my battle and could presently run Broun off any platform.

My spirits were dampened slightly next day by a visit from a comrade who worked his way into my hotel room with word that he knew Mike Gold. After a bit of preliminary fencing, in which he spilled words around fulsomely concerning my writing, he got to the point. He wanted to sell me a course in public speaking. He thought I had the makings of an orator, and got up to show me how the breath should come from a spot directly north of my navel. I had never heard the word before and considered it dirty. I threw him down eight flights of stairs, which will certainly cure him of his friendship for Mike Gold.

ROBERT FORSYTHE.

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Europe's Night of Terror Advances

By Theodore Draper

LONDON, MAY 2.

DIPLOMATIC negotiations are the order of the day in Western Europe. First England negotiated an agreement with Italy after several months of preparing home opinion for the recognition of the Ethiopian conquest and the craven betrayal of Spain. Now France has negotiated with England in preparation for future negotiations with Italy. England expects to be able to negotiate with Germany just as soon as the Chamberlain cabal thinks it practicable. When that time comes, the present rulers of England will do all in their power to force France to follow suit. And then they hope to hold a grand reunion of all the four conferees and arrange the climax as a four-power pact.

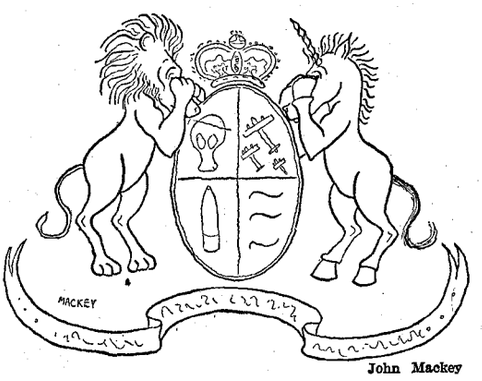
This epidemic of negotiations tends to foster the illusion that peace is necessarily advanced because diplomats are still able to talk to each other. It is nice to think of Messieurs Daladier and Bonnet resting weary heads in Buckingham Palace and eating out of the prize gold plate of the British empire. But the fate of Spain and Czechoslovakia is infinitely more important than any verbal *ententes cordiales* and on these matters the Frenchmen were not able to carry back anything of importance. The best opinion here is that the French took home only as much as could not be denied to them anyway and paid a pretty penny in return. The Franco-British conversations were run on a strictly pay-as-you-go basis.

It is a fact that the French did not extract a single political concession from the British. Spain suffered most of all. The non-intervention farce will be continued in more shocking form than before. Chamberlain is determined to force a quick fascist victory, despite the implications of such a victory for France. The case of Czechoslovakia is somewhat more complicated, but here, too, the French received little encouragement. Chamberlain would promise only to use Britain's influence against German violence upon Czechoslovakia, but that will not save Czechoslovakia from Austria's fate if Nazi political disruption and economic penetration are permitted to go on unchallenged. Whatever political compromises were made came from the French side of the table. The British knew that they held a military trump. They knew that the French were prepared to pay dearly for more direct and effective military coöperation between the two powers. In this respect, the French did make advances and in that sense have been strengthened. But the price they paid will trouble the sleep of all good Frenchmen.

THERE IS PROBABLY not a single political figure of any importance in the whole of France who is not intensely apprehensive of the future, of tomorrow. The press reflects this mood perfectly, and it is also largely the attitude of the man in the café. But not so London. Although the annexation of Austria had important repercussions in Britain, there is still little of the uncertainty, the feeling of immediate jeopardy, which prevails across the channel.

The difference in atmosphere cannot be explained solely by the traditional intensity of the French and the immemorial stolidity of the British. For more than fifteen years after the peace treaties, France was the most powerful military power on the continent, sure of its own strength. France was the partner rather than the pawn of Britain. But France could not go on making concessions to Britain, and through Britain to the fascist powers, without weakening its own position. This accounts for the apprehensiveness in Paris. The British, on the other hand, in their manipulation of the balance of power, are much more confident, still impressed with their superior wisdom, their superior staying-power and their superior money. If they continue the policy of handouts to Hitler and Mussolini, they too will find themselves on the same slippery road. For the democratic powers today, it is the beginning of wisdom to realize that they cannot compromise with fascism without compromising their own national interests as well as the social interests of their people.

On official occasions, both French and British statesmen are accustomed to pay homage to the community of interest between France and England. The phrase *entente cordiale* is even coming back into fashion. There is such a community of interest but the British tories insist upon interpreting it in their own way. When the French emerged from the World War as the preëminent military power of Europe, the British were far from pleased. In all their history, the British ruling class has usually played a lone hand, has tolerated partners only as long as it could not get the upper hand. While Germany was still a democracy and the German working-class movement was strong, the British did little to build up Germany as a counter-weight against France. But once Hitler came to power, the tories changed front. Immediately, the British government started to assist and encourage German rearmament, to countenance and even to coöperate with German aggressions. Inevitably, the differences between France and Britain (that is to say, the differences between the victor powers) became one of the most strategic advantages of the fascist aggressors.



John Mackey

The British tories realized all the while that their dealings with the fascist powers must eventually weaken France. They viewed this prospect with equanimity because *a weakened France is an absolute pre-condition for the successful execution of the Chamberlain betrayal.* In respect to Ethiopia and Spain, the Chamberlain policy is definite: recognition of the Italian conquest in the one and a speedy fascist victory in the other. The British policy regarding Czechoslovakia is also clear. It is almost an axiom in government circles here that Hitler will try to have his way with Czechoslovakia before the year is out, perhaps before the end of autumn. The Manchester *Guardian* correspondent in Berlin has even suggested that the coup may come before the May 22 elections in Czechoslovakia. What Chamberlain fears is that Hitler may force France into a war by precipitate military action against the Czechs. The pro-Nazi Cliveden clique would not like to see this happen because Britain might then have to back up France as in 1914. The British plan is to obviate the necessity for strong-arm tactics. If Czechoslovakia can be disrupted by the terrorist intrigues of the Henlein movement and rendered economically defenseless by German trading methods, Hitler might have no need of force. This is no easy strategy because the Czechs are quite strong militarily and they mean to defend their national independence. Meanwhile, the Chamberlain policy is to permit the German coup against Czechoslovakia to take form and to muddle through as they muddled through the heart of Austria when the time comes.

This systematic surrender of Ethiopia, Spain, and Czechoslovakia is meant to culminate with the four-power pact. The Chamberlain line is now definitely geared to this alignment between Britain, Germany, France, and Italy for the so-called safeguarding of peace in Western Europe. Immediately after the agreement with Italy, the tory press began to prepare public opinion for similar negotiations with Germany. In order to make the pact possible, the tories are quite willing that they must give Hitler *carte blanche* in Central and Eastern Europe and accept certain compromises in the Mediterranean.

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pared to do both and have been doing so.

But not a single one of these steps is possible unless France is deprived of every one of the allies and influences which served to make her powerful in the post-war period. The carefully cultivated French alliances with Poland and the Little Entente must be thrown away. The pact with Czechoslovakia, signed as far back as 1925, must be forsaken. France must be prepared to face a hostile Italy and an even more hostile Germany on her Spanish frontier. Above all, France must sever her tie with the Soviet Union in order to permit Hitler to concentrate his main energies against the Socialist republic.

THERE CANNOT BE ANY DOUBT that the Chamberlain policy is predicated upon the extremely virulent hostility of the British governing class toward the U.S.S.R. The whole conception of the four-power pact is anti-Soviet in principle. Indeed, it is indicated that a series of artificially manufactured anti-Soviet episodes is going to be started in Britain soon. A start was made when the British government hastily protested the arrest in Moscow of a woman, Rose Cohen, though later the Foreign Office had to admit that it was uncertain whether she was technically a British subject at all.

It is no longer useful to speak of the *future* dangers to France. If France concedes Spain and Czechoslovakia to the fascist axis, then it will be relegated to a secondary role in the European balance of power. The last French minister to pursue a policy of firmness was Louis Barthou, Foreign Minister for most of 1934. Barthou realized that Hitler's coming to power in Germany had changed France's status. He sought a direct military alliance with Britain, but Britain then, as now, was unwilling to pay more than lip service to the *entente cordiale*. As a result, Barthou set about fixing France's diplomatic fences in Eastern Europe; it was he more than anybody else who laid the groundwork for the Franco-Soviet pact. Barthou's work came to a sudden end when he was assassinated on October 9, 1934, while riding in state with King Alexander of Yugoslavia. (His assassins were immediately given protection by Mussolini, and they are still at liberty in Italy!)

Barthou was followed by Laval, the chief rogue in the story of latter-day France. Had Laval not sabotaged sanctions against the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, Britain would have been forced to follow. As one English labor leader said to me: "France capitulated to Britain when she knew there was no need of it and now she is capitulating because she thinks that it is her most urgent need." Laval was followed by Blum who, in contrast to his progressive domestic policy, continued the policy of capitulation with the non-intervention blockade against Spain. Had Laval remained Mussolini, had Blum backed Spain, France would have been saved the ignominious necessity of negotiating with Italy over matters that never be in need of negotiation-inspired riots in Tunis.

The first axiom in French politics today is that an anti-fascist policy is the absolute prerequisite for a strong, self-reliant democracy.

France is now paying for the treachery of Laval and the weakness of Blum. Messieurs Daladier and Bonnet came to London as beggars, not as choosers. Their problem was difficult. If France had to defend herself on three frontiers at once, her task might be insuperable. Most French military experts think it would. France had difficulty enough defending herself on one front in 1914-18 when it was Germany who fought on two fronts. France's eastern front (Germany) is in a constant state of emergency. The southern front (Spain) is in jeopardy, and the Germans are fortifying the other side. This leaves only the northern front: Britain. This front must be rendered secure, otherwise France's military position becomes untenable.

This chain of circumstances has caused Britain to dominate the French scheme of defense. That is why Daladier was ready to make concessions in London. Nobody in France objects to an understanding with Britain. That it would strengthen France is self-evident. But it cannot be bought *at any price*. If France has to become a vassal of No. 10 Downing Street in order to feel secure, then that security is just a snare and a delusion. It means that France must assent and even coöperate in the aggrandizement of German fascism, Chamberlain's present aim; and German fascism will not be satisfied until it achieves a final reckoning with France. Der Führer used those very words in *Mein Kampf*, the bible of Nazism, more than ten years ago and it is still the best authority on the subject. The same goes for Italy. There is no reason in principle why France should not come to an understanding with Italy. Danger appears when such an understanding must be based upon acquiescence to the Hitler-Mussolini-Chamberlain foreign policy.

Thus it comes about that the French left wants a strong, self-reliant France and the French right wants a weak, subservient France. The reactionary press in Paris argues, day in and day out, that France must sacrifice everything in order to come to terms with Britain, that a Franco-British military alliance must be obtained *at all costs*. They go farther. They want to sacrifice Czechoslovakia as they sacrificed Spain. Two weeks ago, *Le Temps* published an article by Professor Joseph Barthélémy, an eminent reactionary jurist, which developed the thesis that Czechoslovakia was not worth saving. The article caused a storm of controversy. It was followed by another in the weekly *Gringoire* under the signature of André Tardieu, a former premier and one of the main pillars of French fascism, which declared that France should actively assist in a Czech abdication to Hitler. That is the face of the "fifth column" in France.

IN SUM, THE REJOICING in certain quarters about the so-called *entente cordiale* is premature. It is true that France needs and has now obtained closer military coöperation with Britain. It is true that one of Hitler's main objectives is the separation of France and Britain, an objective as far away from realization as ever. It is true the French government *may* now adopt a firmer attitude on the Czech question on the basis of these British commitments. But these are not the only truths.

It is a fact that France may reinstitute control on the Spanish frontier within thirty days.

It is a fact that Britain is exerting great pressure upon Prague for "maximum concessions" to Henlein and Hitler.

It is a fact that Britain demands a Franco-Italian agreement on the model of the Anglo-

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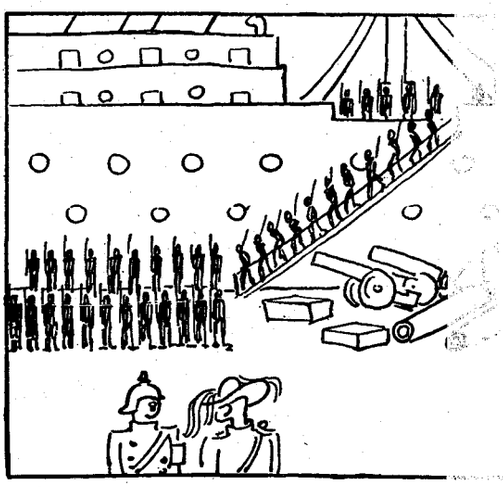
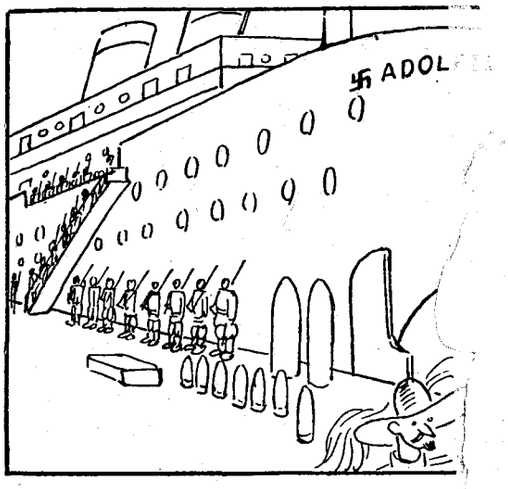
TRANSLATED FROM THE SPA



Getting off the boat at C
Here is where the big p
50,000 Germans come
With 10,000 sent by Ro



In Melilla, make a note,
40,000 left the boat,
Germans and Italian
Didn't look much li

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Italian agreement as a virtual pre-condition for the honoring of its own military concessions.

It is a fact that the tory press has already begun to interpret the London agreement in the most disquieting way. One example: "Scrutator" (first-rank mouthpiece of No. 10 Downing Street) in the *Sunday Times* of May 1 writes as follows:

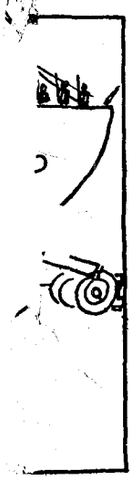
> Naturally, it is a corollary of it [Anglo-Italian agreement] that France too should negotiate a similar agreement . . . Czechoslovakia is a member of the League of Nations and entitled to whatever protection the Covenant can give her against aggression, but so is Spain, and yet we have seen fit in the larger interest of the world's peace [!] to be content with non-intervention there. . . . That any responsible government should balance a world calamity and a constitutional issue in Czechoslovakia's domestic policy as though they were equivalent risks is incredible except in the belief that war is inevitable between ourselves and Germany sooner or later, and that the recovery of Germany is necessarily a detriment to us. But it is just this theory that Mr. Chamberlain, to his great honor, is resolved to combat by every means in his power . . . France . . . should face the main task of persuading Czechoslovakia to compromise and moderation; so she could escape the entanglement of the Russian alliance without cutting it. . . .

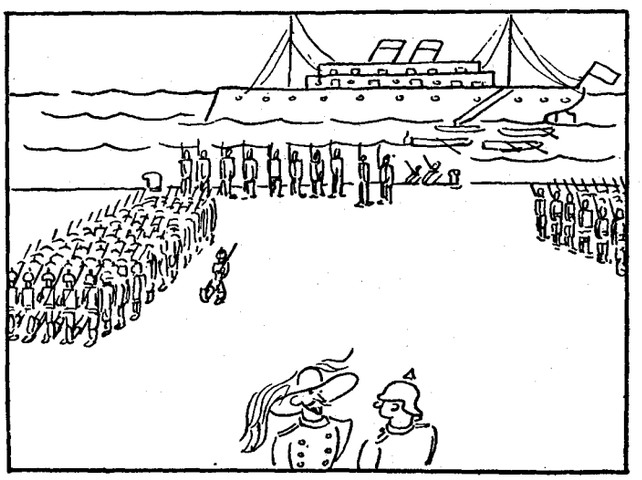
Thus, the main tests are still to come. Czechoslovakia and Spain are the twin battlegrounds of democracy and peace in Europe, and their fate will determine the essential nature of the Franco-British entente. Certain developments in England, which I shall describe in a subsequent article, give more promise of a defeat for the Chamberlain government than ever before. There is no question but that a Nazi attack upon Czechoslovakia would precipitate a decisive political showdown in Britain. France is still the mightiest military power in Europe and can regain her former position if only her compromises cease. Meanwhile, the night of terror advances. The weak tremble, and the strong persist in their folly.

T ABOUT INTERVENTION?

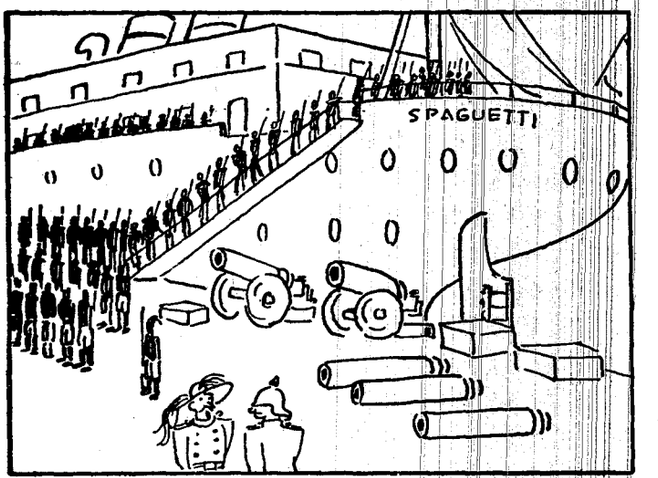
Or, Let's All Take a Firm Stand

AMPHLET "HIERRO," ORGAN OF THE MOTORIZED MACHINE-GUN BRIGADE, BY ROLFE HUMPHRIES

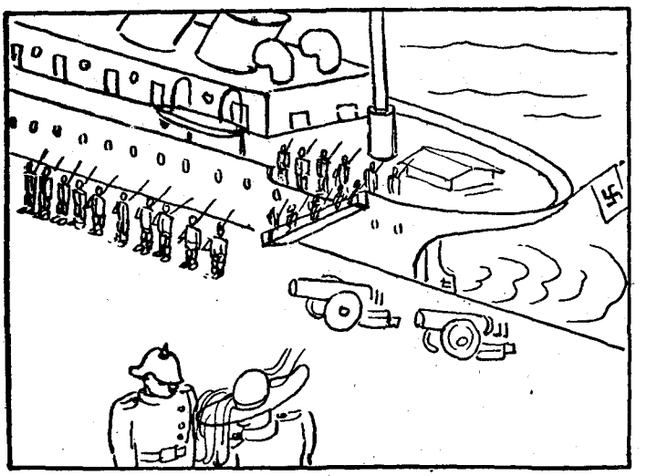




Whose idea was this embargo?
Málaga has quite a cargo.
20,000 Teutons here
Land and look around for beer.



La Coruna's dull—a mere
15,000 Nazis here
Plus 10,000 men who grace
(So they say) the Roman race.



Algeciras harbor adds
50,000 Nazi lads
And 11,000 braves
Fled from Caporetto graves.

L'ENVOI *Meanwhile all the world's great minds*
Sitting on their fat behinds
View with anxious apprehension
Any foreign intervention.

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Union in New Mexico

By Raymond Otis

OF all the writers who have tried to bring the state of New Mexico before a national audience, few have come to grips with the essential problems of the land. The state's resources for vacationing tourists have made much copy for the chambers of commerce; a few of the more spectacular practitioners of art and idleness have still some nuisance value; and Hollywood has glorified its scenery. The truth, however, lies neither in Hollywood nor in the brochures of the chambers of commerce. Still less in the doings of its lunatic fringe.

One-half of the people of New Mexico—there are less than half a million in all—are Spanish-speaking descendants of that handful of Spaniards who discovered, explored, and settled the country two centuries before the United States was a nation. Since the United States took over in 1848, they have been slowly dispossessed and disinherited, except in the northern counties where, as small farmers and herders, they hold the land against the ever-encroaching American civilization, against drought, land erosion and over-use, against poverty, undernourishment, and excessive taxation.

A movement is afoot among these people which, though it never appears in the chamber-of-commerce leaflets and almost never in the press, has significance for the nation in general, and the labor movement in particular: the organization of those small farmers in *La Liga Obrera,* the Workers' League, an association which sprang up indigenously a few years ago, with a minimum of outside help.

To see the people casually is to wonder why they should seek to enter the sound and fury of labor agitation. They appear so contented, so peaceful, so simple—that a grievance seems as remote from them as the horizons of their beautiful land. *"Quien sabe?"* Who knows? "I don't know." These are the phrases one hears. They suggest the fatalism which is the result, like every fatalism, of some kind of tyranny. And these people are the victims of more than one. The arid land is a tyrant; their feudal *patrones* were tyrants; their church is a tyrant; and, finally, the expanding American economy is a tyrant.

For hundreds of years the Spanish-Americans have submitted to their tyrants with little resistance, in the belief, shrewdly nourished, that the next world would be a better one if they guarded their immortal souls in this one. Piece by piece they saw their land being taken away from them. God must be a *rico* too. A rich one. So be it. Amen. The cottonwoods shaded their mud houses in the little valleys. The fickle streams watered their crops—some of the time. Their sheep and stock found forage in the arid hills—until somebody bought the lands for back taxes and put up fences. Then it was too bad. No more sheep. No more wool. What shall we do for wool, for mutton? *Chili con carne* without the *carne?* Well—*quien sabe?*

Not enough land, not enough water.

Half the male population of the rural villages, before 1929, had to leave the farms for half the year and work for wages in the mines, on the railroad, because there was not enough land. The farms kept them alive, that was all. No surplus crop to sell, no money to spend beyond the basic necessities. The money they earned in the wage work went to buy those things like shoes and coffee which the earth would not produce. But they made ends meet. If they fell behind in their taxes the local *politico* would fix it up for them, for their vote. It was good enough, and the heart could be lightened with a song and a guitar, a serenade in the moonlight. The sun was always warm at noonday, wood was plentiful in the hills—until they became Indian lands, or national forest lands, with more fences.

The people were not very careful about their taxes. The concept of taxation of land for revenue was new to them, and the rank and file never paid much attention to taxes. Their political patrons attended to such matters, and before them their feudal *patrones,* if there were any taxes then.

At least two things have happened to change all that. In 1934 a law was passed by which lands becoming delinquent in taxes are "sold" to the state after three years, and may be re-sold thereafter to the highest bidder. And since the depression the wage work which formerly supplied the critical balance of the economy disappeared. The men left their homes for work, found none, and returned empty-handed. Since the jobs ceased, a large proportion of the Spanish-American families have been on relief. And since the delinquent tax law was passed, the Spanish-Americans have lost their lands wholesale.

It was to meet this growing need for relief that the *Liga Obrera* was organized, to agitate for the people's legitimate needs and to demonstrate their desperation. The organization all but foundered in 1936 over the issue of the Farmer-Labor Party; although it had before the elections of 1936 a membership of 11,000, this number dwindled to almost nothing as a result of internal strife. As always, the Spanish-Americans had no leaders worthy or equipped for the task of holding the organization together.

It must be held in mind that the Spanish-Americans are an easy-going, agricultural people accustomed to corruption in high places, inured to poverty and a subsistence-seeking economy. To rouse such people to the need for solidarity and organization requires a more burning issue than petty politics.

Such an issue came up in 1937. Suddenly the small farmers of the middle Rio Grande Valley, in central New Mexico in the vicinity of Albuquerque, awoke to the realization that they were about to be deprived of their land. As land is their base resource they would be helpless without it, and totally dependent upon society. Not one or two, or just a [illegible] but 4,600 tracts were delinquent in taxes. The figure represented some five thousand small farmers and, with their families, 25,000 individuals. This condition arose as a result of an infamous conservation project which had been foisted upon the people against their will, piling a tax burden upon them which they were unable to support—a continuation, deliberate or not, of the historical process of dispossession.

The people for a while regarded this dilemma with characteristic fatalism. It required an outside impetus to rouse them to the splendid fight they subsequently made to keep their lands. An organization was quickly formed, the Committee on Spanish-American Affairs, among a very few progressive Anglo-Americans (to distinguish from Spanish-Americans), for the purpose of supplying the small farmers with technical and financial assistance, and organizational guidance. This committee is a permanent group dedicated to future assistance for the Spanish-American people.

The all but defunct *Liga Obrera* was chosen to be the vehicle of the farmers' rescue, because as their own organization it would continue to function after the crisis had passed. The Committee on Spanish-American Affairs collected a little money, enough to send two active members of the *Liga* into the field as organizers, and within two months twenty new locals and one thousand members had joined. By December, the crucial month, under the able and brilliant leadership of a twenty-seven-year-old Spanish-American girl, who shall be called Dolores, the *Liga* counted thirty new locals and thirteen hundred members in a district where there had been none before.

The culmination of this campaign was the demonstrations conducted before the county courthouses in the several counties involved, on the day when the delinquent tax deeds were supposed to be sold at public auction on the courthouse steps, by the county treasurers. Injunctions restraining the sales had been gained in some counties ahead of the deadline date, making demonstrations unnecessary in those counties. But the girl Dolores was herself present at one demonstration. She prepared a leaflet of instructions beforehand in Spanish and English which is too long to quote,

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but a few samples from it suggest the spirit of the occasion: "A committee of inspection should be made by everyone not to have any pistols or weapons of any kind. Every one local should represent at least one slogan. A committee of six to watch in the rear of standing demonstration if dangers of arrest should be attempted . . . and signal at the different captains. This committee . . . to find out if there should be any prospective buyers, and report who they are so everyone knows, and put eyes on him or them at the time slogans are presented. Everyone should be careful to see that no liquor of any kind is taken on this day. . . ."

Needless to say, no tax deeds were sold.

Dolores had trouble, however, with the men on this occasion, and their slogans. The men were shy. At the last minute she found them having trouble with their placards; they had them on the ground and were laboriously outlining the letters in pencil while others stood by with ink to fill in the letters. Dolores, finding them thus, brushed them aside with her quick, corruscating Spanish, took her own lipstick and broke it. Handing half to another girl, she said, "Here, use this," and in no time at all the slogans were ready. And now the men were reluctant to carry the placards, preferring the ambiguity of the crowd. Dolores herself took a slogan, rallying the women around her with the others, and with them led the march to the courthouse.

What has happened as a result of the *Liga's* success in the middle Rio Grande area is only a beginning. Spanish-Americans in other parts of the state are eager for organization now, and the campaign should be followed up. The *Liga* has become a strong, independent force in the villages where it exists, and has brought a new spirit to a formerly discouraged and defeated group. The lessons of organization and unity have been learned well by the people, but the movement must spread and include other counties, other districts, and organizations. Meanwhile, small politicians and even members of the state legislature are joining the *Liga,* and the prospect of independent political action is a fairly immediate possibility. Local leaders are appearing, and the groundwork for a real organizational wave seems to have been established.

Dangers, however, confront the *Liga,* too. The people are still too inexperienced, too unsophisticated, to cope with machine politics. There is danger that they may lose sight of the ideal of independent political action, and allow themselves to be annexed by one of the established political parties or factions. If this should happen, as it well may unless further guidance is supplied, the resulting disappointment and disillusionment will be bitter blows to a promising situation. The help they require demands more money than is available or in sight.

The national significance of these events in New Mexico lies in the fact that here is a demonstration of the making of sharecroppers. A growing monopoly in land, plus an underprivileged, subsistence-seeking group on the land, equals tenant farming. It has already appeared in New Mexico, both in farming and in the herding of sheep, or tenant herding. With respect to the labor movement, these events point to an outstanding truth. The people who make up the most part of the membership of the *Liga Obrera* are not farm laborers, but small farmers. They are independent, and they own their land, have owned it for generations. Yet they properly belong, as events have shown, in the labor movement, in any popular front. Labor's Non-Partisan League should strive to include these Spanish-American farmers of New Mexico, who have joined their *Liga Obrera* for the purpose of independent political action.

By 1940, if the movement now growing in New Mexico is properly guided and assisted, there may emerge in one of our most backward states a powerful progressive bloc united in common cause with progressive forces everywhere.

Quien sabe?

★ ★ ★

Spartacus 1938

Thaelmann is buried under the peat bog,
under the rain, under the tufted grass.

He is buried under crisscross tracks of birdfeet
made all day by the moorhens as they pass.
He lies below the feet of prisoners
come all day from the concentration camp;
the lean marsh iris and the angled sedge
set their roots in grey and green water;
Thaelmann lies where the shovel's edge
crisscross cuts peat all day long
and the night smooths it over with water.

But Thaelmann is buried under Moabit
lying living in the heavy stone.

When Romans killed Spartacus the gladiator
they did not put him under earth alone;
along the Roman road they set a cross,
a little way beyond another cross,
so for some miles, and every cross a man;
so the tall gladiators on the Roman road
blackened until the Roman flocks of crows
turned from the new corn in the spring.

This was done to Spartacus and the moneyless men
in the name of sweet peace, order and tranquillity,
in the name of large lands belonging to one man,
the name of grain brought from Egypt to give the poor,
in the name of the rich man's house, the name of his sleep
and the fat ancestral spirits of his gods.
This was done in the name of the smoke on altars.
Spartacus being a slave was beaten with rods.

And the slave lives in the ergastulum
and the slave lies chained to the outer door,
and the slave wears away the palms of his hands
working for the Roman state. Spartacus
lies with his heart buried at the foot of the whipping-post.

(But Thaelmann is held in Moabit,
the door is locked, the key is lost, the cause is lost.)

The prisoners from the concentration camp
leave wet footmarks on the rainy moor.
They never had a key to open the door,
and when they leave, they leave by the back door of a bullet,
the coffin sent home with an official seal;
but the prisoner shall set his heel
into firm earth, but he shall stand firm,
but he shall live by the lean gun
and he shall earn his death like honest bread
and there shall be bread. And this shall be
in our lifetime, in our bitter lifetime, Thaelmann.
The grass shall sleep upon the moor.
Assault the door, break down the door, break open the door.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

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READERS' FORUM

Following are two of the answers received to the article, "Why I Am Not an Active Communist," in last week's issue. Other answers will appear in subsequent issues.—The Editors.

From a Teacher

TO THE NEW MASSES:

I CAN easily sympathize with the predicament of the writer, since I have had to face a similar problem myself. None of us, after all, is born a Communist. No matter what our background, joining the Communist Party involved a careful decision. For some of us, of course, that decision was less difficult than for others. One of my friends, for example, is a machinist. Through his activity in his union he discovered that there was a direct relationship between his working conditions and the activity of the Communist unit in his shop. It did not occur to him, therefore, as it occurred to the writer, that there was perhaps a conflict between his desire for "a comfortable home" and his active participation in the Communist movement. On the contrary, he joined the party for exactly the same reason which the writer feels is keeping him from becoming an active member. It must be admitted, however, that this was a less complex situation than the one which confronts the writer. The connection between a factory worker and the Communist Party is perhaps more clear and direct than the connection between a professional or salaried intellectual and the party. More clear and direct psychologically, I hasten to add. I think it can be shown that the relationship is just as *real* socially.

I take it that the writer has no theoretical doubts about the program and philosophy of the Communist Party. To be sure, he still retains certain confusions. For example, he is "willing and anxious to believe" that Socialism is "aimed in the right direction." He is "willing, also, to agree" that the Moscow trials were necessary. This emphasis on "willingness" betrays in part an insufficient study of the objective facts, which offer no intelligent alternative to *belief* as distinguished from the *disposition to believe*. It also suggests an answer to the writer's question: "What more is there for me to say—or to believe?" Belief is strengthened and clarified by actual participation. The belief of an active Communist is not *identical* with that of a sympathizer on the sidelines. The writer's discomfort is connected with the fact that he has not fulfilled his beliefs in action. In general, however, the writer apparently finds himself in agreement with the position of the Communist Party. His statement indicates a realization that the existence of this party offers his major source of understanding and hope in this troubled world. Indeed, he is annoyed with himself for not joining.

Why, then, does he fail to become a member of the party? Basically, because he is reluctant to change his life in its "fundamental form," because he does not wish to "surrender" his family to the hardships which would follow from loss of his job.

As to the first point. Looking back at my own experience, I recognize that at the time I was prepared to make such a statement as the writer has made, my life had already been changed in its "fundamental form." My whole mental outlook, like that of the writer, had already been transformed. I was, for a time, not ready to act, in the sense of accepting the discipline and leadership of the Communist Party. But I continued, after all, to live, and my experiences were now of a quite different nature, even though I was not attending unit meetings. I read the papers differently, I discussed matters from a different point of view, I voted differently, and so on. Soon I discovered that I was unhappy, as unhappy as the writer. Why? Because there was a conflict between my ideas and my practice. I was involved in painful inconsistencies. My life had changed, but I was, almost deliberately, refusing to come to terms with the change. I was placing obstacles in the way of my own expression as an organized personality. Like the writer, I discovered that there was no similar conflict in those of my friends who had joined the party. They spent time at meetings, true. But those hours were consciously well-spent, consciously integrated with the rest of their activity, whereas I spent even more hours of tortured self-searchings and troubled analyses of my illogical predicament. As I read the writer's statement I recognize the fruits of such painful hours. Indeed, it is altogether likely that the writer, after spending some time on it, chastised himself for not having spent the time writing letters to the State Department and to his congressmen, urging the lifting of the embargo on Spain. This endless self-abasement is the inevitable result of a divided mind. And a divided mind is the inevitable result of a change in the "fundamental form" of one's life which one refuses to recognize.

The writer is afraid of the round of meetings and conferences which he may be expected to attend. There will be meetings, of course. But it is an illusion to suppose that Communists never have any "time for themselves." There are comrades who spend most of their spare time doing party work. They do so voluntarily. The average party member attends two meetings of perhaps two or three hours each: one with his unit, and the other with his union or mass organization. It is likely that such a progressive person as the writer is actually spending more time on meetings now than he will after he joins the party. He is, let us say, a member of the Newspaper Guild, of the American Labor Party, of the American League for Peace and Democracy. His work is uncoördinated. He would probably be doing more for the cause in which he believes by spending less time more purposefully at meetings. This is the function of the party. It does not try to keep people on the run in the hope that somehow or other something will get done. It economizes energy by giving it a sense of direction. The new recruit is frequently surprised to learn that he has been doing too many things and therefore accomplishing too little. It is hard to believe that the writer is spending no time at all in the pursuit of his social goal. If he is not, and if he refuses to do so, I think that he will agree with me that he is not entitled to his social goal.

I, too, enjoy reading and conversation. I, too, have achieved "a happiness and congeniality" of personal relationship. And I can truthfully say that these values have been enhanced and made more permanent by my activity in the Communist Party.

As for the fear of losing one's job. That fear, as the writer must be aware, arises in the first place from the precarious nature of employment under capitalism. Well, the writer says, I know there's unemployment and insecurity, but at least I have a job right here and now; membership in the party will jeopardize it. How? The writer does not say. Surely he realizes that the party is concerned about keeping its members employed. Surely he does not think that the party is made up entirely of people without jobs. Because bosses fear Communists as the most devoted members of the working class, they do not like to hire them. Because our democracy is incomplete, we can't always keep Communists, or other workers, from being fired. Therefore, it is necessary in most instances to keep membership anonymous—a sad reflection on our social order. More frequently than not, the party discovers that non-members "expose" themselves as Communists, because they do not appreciate the dangers to which the writer refers, whereas the real Communists organize their activities in such a way that they can act effectively without jeopardizing their positions. All I can say is that I have learned more ways about keeping my job since joining the party than I have ever before known. The idea is not to put your head under the ax but to yank the ax away from the executioner.

I think that, so far as the main substance of the statement goes, the writer has given some rather powerful arguments for joining the party. I am confident that as he reconsiders his illogical and painful position he will be ready to write an article on "I Am an Active Member of the Communist Party—and I Love It."

From a Boss

TO THE NEW MASSES:

ONE of the major evils of the capitalist system is the fact that it denies to the people the opportunity to develop themselves in the work they are best suited for. Had I been brought up in a Socialist society, the people, no doubt, would have benefited by my efforts to excel in the work I enjoyed and wanted to do. As it is, under capitalism, I turned out to be a boss.

In order to understand how to help in the struggle for Socialism, I became a member of the Communist Party.

What was it that made me class-conscious? Could I reconcile my present economic position with Communist ideology? Is it possible to participate in the labor movement and remain a boss? What about my family life?

I have been asked those questions many times, but it is very significant that no Communist ever wanted to know anything but "Is yours a union shop?" They were always too busy to inquire into my personal life, and, besides, they knew all the answers.

The first time I realized that something was wrong was in 1913 when I began looking for a much-needed job. After six months of fruitless search I narrowly escaped becoming a member of the lumpen proletariat by finding a job in a factory. As I was rather efficient, the boss permitted me to continue to work and become more efficient.

Being greatly interested in music, I always hoped to be in a position to study, but when my earnings improved I found that in order to study, time was just as essential as money, and since I could not find the time, it was necessary to postpone my studies.

It seemed to me that if I were to work hard enough and become financially independent, as I have heard others have done, my studies could be resumed and my ambitions realized.

When our shop foreman died the boss chose me as his successor, with an increase in wages, but when it was beginning to look as though I was on the right track, my boss failed.

During the next seven or eight years I worked in a number of factories, was fired out of one because I refused to fire a girl who did not feel like entertaining the boss, out of another because the boss got somebody to do my work for less money, out of the next because "my services were no longer required."

By this time the wage level was much lower than before, and unless I was to reduce the living standard I was accustomed to, it was necessary for me to work in a managerial capacity. There was no question of going ahead with my studies any more; it was too late anyway, I just had to do the work I despised in order to live.

Four years ago an opportunity presented itself for me to start out with outside financial backing in a small business.

Strangely enough, it was only when I began employing workers that I understood the nature of the class struggle.

Up to then, my work had consisted of supervising production, instructing the workers how to produce more work with less effort, and sometimes with more effort. When the workers were laid off, due to seasonal decline in production or due to an economic crisis, I looked upon it as a matter of routine—I was just another worker who happened to be fortunate enough to have a good job.

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Having become an employer, I was idealistic enough to hope to be able to improve the workers' lot as well as my own. However, I soon found that outside influences prevented me from doing so. Being inherently honest, I soon realized that the interests of the employees were in direct contrast to those of the employer. Knowing the workers intimately, being faced with a condition in which the worker placed the blame for his economic ills on me, having to refuse employment to those in need of it, and realizing the futility of trying to remedy the economic evils alone, I began to look for a way out.

What could I do to make friends with the people with whom I came in contact daily? Could we all somehow get together and work in harmony? Was it possible for all of us to share in the profits, if any, so that the workers could realize that I was not getting rich at their expense?

It was a Communist Party organizer who made it clear to me that it would be impossible to combine Socialism with capitalism. As long as there are bosses and wage workers there must be class antagonism, and he said the only thing I could do was pay as much as possible and forget about being a liberal.

"But I do not want to be a boss and incur people's enmity."

"If you give up your business will your workers be better off?"

"How could I help them earn more money?"

"By helping to organize the rest of the industry."

"How could I do that?"

"Join the Communist Party."

It was difficult and sort of awkward, at first—sort of a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde existence. During the day I would be engrossed in the work of making a go of the business without chiseling the workers, and at night I would be doing the work I really enjoyed doing—probably not as much as I would like to do, but all that was possible for me to do.

Are the workers in the shop aware of the fact that I am a member of the party?

I am trying to organize a shop unit and am making certain headway, but caution and time are necessary when a boss is organizing a Communist Party unit in his own shop.

Did I lose any friends by joining the party?

In the first place, for obvious reasons, my membership in the party is not generally known, but I have some friends and relatives who are very staunch conservatives and violently disagree with my support of Roosevelt. If I should happen to lose their friendship because of my progressive views, there is no cause for loss of sleep as I gave up trying to liberalize them long ago. My liberal friends, while disagreeing with the program of the Communist Party in some respects, do not condemn me for being a Communist and have coöperated in anti-fascist work.

What about family life?

Well, my wife has always worked with me in the factory and, feeling exactly as I do, joined the party without hesitation. We have always enjoyed being together and our party work only strengthened our mutual love and respect.

We feel that our party work has been a source of inspiration and has given us a new reason for living, and it certainly makes us proud of the fact that in a small way we are contributing to the establishment of a new civilization where the children of today will grow up to be happy and useful citizens and lead a free and dignified life.

Ivory Tower or Hole in the Ground

To the New Masses:

A SHORT while ago some letters appeared in New Masses which seemed to serve as the opening guns in the struggle for popular revolutionary poetry. The writers, fatherly or indignant, protested that they—and therefore, of course, the common people—could not understand all this newfangled verse; removing phrases from their contexts, they asked, "What does this mean?" and then they gave examples of the kind of poetry they *did* want. They were ready to issue a decree about this serious matter.

I am aware that such sentiments have considerable backing among your readers. There are many people whose public-school education in the arts has not been shed merely because they have come to a clearer understanding of political and social relationships. Most of us were brought up on the worst poems of the best poets—or the best poems of the worst poets.

I have no dispute with the taste of your correspondents, but I should like to know how they come to speak for the people. I am beginning to think that just as patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel, so the people are the last refuge of a philistine. What does a philistine want of art? Something that will give him the most exalted feelings with the least effort, something profound, but easy. His idea of poetry is the recitation, of painting the virtuously accurate description of nature. He wants nothing to do with that radical transformation of the world of nature and society—from the earliest ballads, work and ceremonial songs of Lorca and Mayakovsky, from the prehistoric cave drawings to Picasso's *Guernica*—which is the essence of great art.

Mathematics can be studied for years, but the arts have to be understood on sight. And a mythical people is supposed to support this unrevolutionary laziness. Why print Lorca, then? Aren't our friends asking, what does it mean? when they read

> Instead, shields of wakefulness,
> my eyes, clean and hard,
> look toward a north of metals
> and of cliffs
> where my veinless body
> consults frozen cards.

But that was Lorca. Well, what of Mayakovsky? But that was Mayakovsky.

Marx had a different attitude toward art. There is a story of Balzac's "The Unknown Masterpiece," which anticipates the development of abstract art and describes the struggle of the artist to achieve reality, to create a new language which even his fellow artists do not at first understand. This was Marx's favorite among Balzac's short stories.

I am sure some gentle reader will answer that I am pacing up and down in my ivory tower. I can only say that I wish he would come out of his hole in the ground. Art is no easier than life.

Clarence Weinstock.

On Proletarian Stories

To the New Masses:

THIS letter will be a kind of thinking out loud about the story in the literary section by Richard Wright. It's been a couple of years at least since I've read stories you could call revolutionary, or proletarian. And I remember the feeling I had about most of them then: if the story itself was good, the characters didn't matter (if you can say such a thing about a piece of dramatic writing). That is, the characters didn't *have* to be workers, or revolutionists—they were just so many types picked from a bunch of picturesque people who were likely to appeal to readers because they were novel or striking or downright shocking. It seemed to me at the time that the writers of these stories were just telling gripping tales against a background of proletarian "scenery," scenery, as it were, that was just hauled in to make the story fit for a radical literary magazine. Another objection I had was that the writers were dishing out brutality, violence, and gore just because these things might bring their story closer to life. Most of the time, I thought, these writers were spilling ketchup, not blood. Again, some of the stories I remember reminded me of the way pulp writers employ "vocabularies" of accent, work-slang, technical terms, to give atmosphere—but a phony atmosphere, acquired (it seemed to me) the way the pulp fellows do: I'll swap my "vocabulary" of gangster-talk for your "vocabulary" of logging camps.

That was the way I felt then. Between then and now I've begun to discover why it is that a story satisfies, why it makes you feel it *had* to end this way or that, why it couldn't betray the setting you gave it and the people you put in it—and still be a story. (The guiding light here, I guess, was John Howard Lawson's book on playwriting.) And somewhere in there I decided a "proletarian" writer had to know more than just how to say, "The strong smell of the new furrow made him drunk," or "He left the meeting hall and thrust his face into the sweet rain," and stuff like that. And this writer had to know *more* than a few facts about bedbugs in flophouses and how it must feel to get a sock on the head from an unfriendly club. He had to know why his story was going to wind up in only one way, and be able to tell whether the solution of it was honest and convincing. I began to think that a pretty good criterion of a story was whether it would make a good one-act play.

Now I know what it is about this story of Richard Wright's that's so thrilling. It's this: nobody has to tell me that this is a proletarian or "revolutionary" story. I don't even have to know what the words mean—I may never have heard them before. But I know that something big is happening in this story—from a strictly *dramatic* point of view. I feel that everything's important in it, that all the parts match in size and value, that its deep shadows can come only from strong, bright lights. Mind you, I wouldn't have to be even slightly sympathetic to Communism (though I don't know why I'm leaning over backward to make this point) to feel that, if nothing else, Communism can produce some really big emotions, worthy, if you like, of a good short story.

I guess the reason I call the story thrilling, in that respect, is that, after all, there are only a few people who have the time (or perhaps get the right critical magazines) to know what a proletarian writer is trying to do. The rest of them, like me, are likely to be suspicious when the proletarian writers need somebody else to explain to readers that this or that is a proletarian story. With most people, I think, reading a story is like eating an apple: you come to it in a neutral, more or less uninformed frame of mind. If there is any bias, it's on the side of suspicion—the minute the thing turns out to be a phony, you suddenly become very positive in your tastes and throw it away.

Irvin T. Shapiro.

Baltimore, Md.

Letters in Brief

THE Prisoners' Relief Fund of the International Labor Defense writes that the officials of the prison at Dannemora, N. Y., have refused to allow Stephen Weiss, a prisoner, to receive a subscription to New Masses entered in his name. The I.L.D. received a letter from Blakely R. Webster, prison superintendent, saying that Mr. Weiss was "mentally ill" and that the authorities have been forced to put some restrictions on the reading matter he is to receive. "Unfortunately," writes Mr. Webster, "your paper was one which I felt I must delete from the number of requests sent to me by him." The I.L.D. further informs us that Dannemora is one of the worst prisons in this respect, and that "a little expose of the brutality exercised in this particular institution would be a good thing." . . . H. S., of Boston, writes about Michael O'Donnell's letter on Catholicism in the May 10 issue: "Three hundred years ago my people landed on Plymouth Rock. For three centuries, in farming, seafaring, and soldiering; in the pulpit, the classroom, and the operating room; in politics, religion, and literature, my people have been fighting the battle of American Christianity. To continue that fight I have joined the Communist Party." . . . Dr. Floyd J. Seaman, of the People's Institute for Social Studies, in Los Angeles, writes about that newly formed institution, modeled after New York's New School for Social Research. The institute, he writes, is located at 2936 W. 8th St. in Los Angeles, and "provides seven classes a week in timely projects, given by authorities in each field."

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BOOK REVIEWS

A Book for the Millions

I LIKE AMERICA, *by Granville Hicks. Modern Age Books. 50 cents.*

SUPPOSE a miracle were to happen. Suppose that Modern Age Books, with their far-flung distribution system, and their low prices, were to decide, for once in a way, really to do the kind of job they originally intended, that is, to distribute books on a mass scale. Suppose they reëxamined this book they have just published and allowed their imaginations to play with the realization of just how wide the potential market for it is. And suppose they concentrated their efforts on every means of publicity and merchandising to cover that market. Suppose, in short, that they succeeded in putting this book into the hands of the not less than ten or twelve million Americans to whom it is directly addressed, and who ought to have a chance to read it. Suppose all that. At once fascinating possibilities open up, and not only for Modern Age Books (who would, of course, be rolling in wealth) but for the country at large.

This is not a middle-class nation, as Hicks points out. But the ten or twelve million he is addressing, the professionals and small-business people, the farmers who are getting along, the literate, newspaper- and magazine-reading public, are an immensely important and, in some situations, a decisive section of the population. In his "Prologue—for a Certain Patriot," Hicks writes:

> What I want to do in this book is present my case to the middle middle-class, to the group to which we both belong. As I conceive it, we are facing a jury of our peers—in the strictest sense of the word. You do not have to worry about the presentation of your case; it is stated daily in newspapers, magazines, radio speeches, sermons, and classroom lectures. It is the case for things as they are, and is dear to those who have easy access to the various means of influencing public opinion.
>
> Mine is the case for change, and it is less often heard. It is stated by only a few newspapers and magazines, and these not widely circulated. It is given only a few minutes on the radio in contrast to the hours and hours of which your spokesmen avail themselves. It is presented by a mere handful of ministers and teachers, and these constantly suffer from the displeasure that you and your friends know how to make so effective.
>
> That is why I find it necessary to address myself in a book to your class and mine. My thesis is not that I am as good an American as you; that is too modest a claim; I maintain that I am a better American. And I shall try to prove it to the jury of our peers.
>
> This is a book about America. It is not a report on a special tour of investigation. It is not the outcome of scholarly researches. It is not even the impressions of an extensive traveler. It is merely a statement by a middle-class American, based on what he has seen in the course of an ordinary life and what he has read in intervals not devoted to the literary studies that are his professional concern.

To imagine this great section of the American people becoming thoroughly aware of what has been happening to their country, why it has been happening, and what can be done about it, is to imagine an enormous raising of the entire political level of the nation, an immense strengthening of the forces of progress. And *I Like America* could go a long way toward accomplishing just that clarification of the puzzled, muddled, and bedeviled minds of the "middle middle-class." Pounded on every side by propaganda for a return to Hooverism, with every major source of news and information poisoned, they grope toward a solution. They don't know all the facts, but they know something is seriously wrong, and that it is rapidly getting no nearer right. And here is a book which tells them all about it; which doesn't shriek or scold or weep; which starts out from the same class viewpoint as their own, with the same love of justice and decency in human relations, the same love of country, the same aim of widespread human happiness. When Hicks writes of his ancestry, his deep roots in this land, of the kind of America he likes, of the life he and his family lead, he achieves the persuasiveness of a personal letter to a friend. When he exhibits the misery that exists all around the 10 percent of the population he is talking to, he is demonstrating, in the same way, the needlessness of it.

Hicks starts from scratch, in his discussion of the problems facing America. His own family, their house, the scheming and planning to build the upstairs study, to get the artesian well drilled and the electric wires run in, are details which accurately evoke a thoroughly familiar picture of middle-class life. And that life is good to Hicks, in its balance of work and rest, except for the absence of security. But from the relative comforts of this life Hicks looks abroad on the whole of depression America, where another kind of life drags on. He recounts what he has seen in a coal patch, in city slums, in factory towns, and in the back country where the stranded farmers are rotting in their misery. These are the aspects of America Hicks doesn't like and which he invites the reader to detest enough to change; the squandering of human resources, the unemployment and inadequate relief and semi-starvation; half a million children in New York City alone growing up in families on relief incomes; "scientific" budgets of $8.05 a week for a family of five; suppression of freedom, academic and civil; Jim Crowism and blacklists, tear gas and lynchings. The indictment of the failure of capitalism to live up to its boast of plenty and freedom leads into a discussion of whether people can work together to wipe out all these evils, and here Hicks is at his most persuasive. He presents the dilemma of the middle class in its most serious aspect, as that of a vanishing class without enough security in the present or confidence in the future, to enable it to fight for its separate existence against the inexorable advance of capitalist decay. The overshadowing danger of fascism as an alternative to collective action to guarantee democracy, is ably presented, and there is a moving "Epilogue—for My Daughter." The America he likes emerges in three tenses, the America of the past, of the present, and the future, and it is on the America of the future that he banks and toward which he propels the book.

Painting by Ida Laura Clark

Sharecroppers

He writes at all times in the simplest language, with never a lapse into an academic lingo calculated to send the reader unschooled in radical literature to the dictionary, or to bed. This is a style of presenting an argument that the propaganda literature of the radical movement could emulate with benefit, for it recognizes that writing is a partnership in which the reader has at least an equal interest.

Just because it is so simply done, it is the more remarkable that we have had so few books of such effectiveness as *I Like America.* Hicks has his belittlers, who have been yapping at his heels for years, and it may be that we shall be told he is being altogether too elementary—naïve is the word I believe. If it were so, if the ten or twelve millions he is writing for already knew all he has to tell them, it would be very well for all of us. That they don't know all, or a hundredth part, of the material brought together in *I Like America,* is abundantly evident in the eagerness with which the reactionaries center their propaganda on just these "middle middle-classes."

In any event, what *I Like America* needs is not criticism. Nor is this review written in any spirit of unpartisan objective appraisal. We like Hicks, and more, we regard him as one of the most valuable citizens we have. In five years the only quarrel we've had with

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him is over just this book, because NEW MASSES should have had it, to print. What *I Like America* needs is distribution. It is a book for the millions; of course we'll settle for less. But here is fair warning: Unless *I Like America* is given a circulation of at least fifty thousand within a few months, we'll publish it ourselves. And let Modern Age sue!

HERMAN MICHELSON.

Partisanship in Literature

DIALECTICS No. 5. *The Critics' Group. 10 cents.*

THE latest issue of this valuable Marxian literary journal includes a full reprint of Lenin's classic article on "Party Organization and Party Literature." Originally published in 1905, this essay is extremely pertinent and instructive today in the distinctions which it draws between the bourgeois and proletarian concepts of the writer's status in society. Lenin's analysis of the relation between the revolutionary writer and the working class movement is the best single answer I know to the professional distorters of the Marxian attitude toward literature. Edmund Wilson and John Chamberlain and Bernard DeVoto might conceivably profit by studying it.

Lenin stressed the fact that "the literary aspect of the work of a proletarian party cannot be identified in a stereotyped manner with other aspects of its work. . . . There can be no doubt that literature is the last thing to lend itself to mechanical equalization, to leveling, to domination of the majority by the minority." He was convinced that in literature "it is absolutely necessary that the widest latitude be assured to personal initiative and individual inclinations, to thought and imagination, to form and content." The function of the artist is not mechanically to repeat prepared slogans. The problem of his art cannot be solved by edict.

Those who listened to Earl Browder at the last Congress of the League of American Writers will recall that he made the same emphasis. They will recall that Browder stressed another point too: that writers cannot claim exemption from those responsibilities which other men share in society. This other side of the question receives ample consideration in Lenin's article. Socialist proletarian literature, Lenin wrote, "cannot be at all an individual affair independent of the proletariat as a whole." It may strike some critics as "strange and curious," as Lenin predicted it would, but "literature must necessarily and inevitably become an inextricable part of the work of the Social-Democratic Party."

Lenin envisaged the response to his criticism of anarchic conceptions of the writer's role: "What! cries some intellectual, a passionate lover of freedom. What! You wish to collectivize a subject as delicate and individual as literary creation! You wish workers, by majority vote, to decide the problems of science, philosophy, esthetics! You deny absolute freedom to the absolute individual creation of the mind!"

Calm yourselves, Lenin advised the gentlemen who, at the drop of a hat, cry: Artists in Uniform! In the first place, the party of the workers is a voluntary association, and freedom in such an association does not involve the right to oppose the interests of those with whom you have agreed to work. Those one-hundred percenters so passionately devoted to "freedom of criticism," as Lenin pointed out in his exposures of Trotsky at the same period, are in reality more devoted to the dream of breaking up the workers' association. As I read this passage, I recalled that at the Writers' Congress a group of Trojan-horse Trotskyites demanded to know why such "passionate lovers of freedom" as Sidney Hook and Max Eastman had not been invited. Harry Hansen also howled from the sidelines. The answer was obvious to anybody who was not deliberately seeking to destroy the purposes of the Congress. A voluntary association which has as one of its major objectives the support of the people's front and the loyalist government was asked in the name of "freedom of criticism" to admit men whose undisguised aim is to destroy the people's front and the loyalist government. Lenin was not deceived by these critics of "bureaucratization." He had a proper scorn for their hypocrisy.

Nor was Lenin more patient with those critics, who, like Joseph Wood Krutch and Sinclair Lewis, make a great to-do about "curbs" on the freedom of proletarian writers. The real restraints are those imposed on the non-proletarian writers. "The freedom of the bourgeois writer, artist, or actress is nothing but a self-deceptive (or hypocritically deceiving) dependence upon the money bags, upon bribery, upon patronage. And we Socialists expose this hypocrisy, we tear away this false front—not in order to attain a classless art and literature (that will be possible only in a Socialist, classless society), but in order to oppose to a literature hypocritically free, and in reality allied with the bourgeoisie, a literature truly free, *openly* allied with the proletariat. This literature will be free because rather than careerism and pecuniary motives it will be the Socialist cause and sympathy with the workers that will draw ever new forces into its ranks." And, in spite of Edmund Wilson's urbane chastisements, "The organized Socialist proletariat must keep watch over all this activity, supervise it completely, breathe into it the living spirit of the living cause of the proletariat. . . ."

The two other items in this issue of *Dialectics* supply ample corroborative evidence that Soviet writers are observing these Leninist principles. Angel Flores has compiled a very useful list of Soviet creative works available in English translations. It is an impressive list, even though it represents only a fraction, of course, of the creative work which has been produced in the U.S.S.R. since the October Revolution. Certainly, such writers as Valentin Kataev, Ilya Ehrenbourg, Leonid Leonov, Lev Kassil, Benjamin Kaverin, Nikolai Ostrovski, Boris Pilnyak, Alexei Tolstoy, and Mikhail Sholokhov, and many others, have had the "widest latitude" assured to them as to "thought and imagination, to form and content." And certainly, they have reflected the truth that Socialist literature "cannot be at all an individual affair independent of the proletariat as a whole."

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The essay on James Joyce's *Ulysses* by the young Soviet critic R. Miller-Budnitskaya, illustrates the same truths on the level of literary criticism. This essay is an enormous improvement over Smirnov's study of Shakespeare, which the Critics' Group published some time ago. The treatment of Joyce proves that the soundness of a social analysis of a work of art is in direct proportion to its soundness as esthetic analysis, and that no esthetic analysis can be vital without social understanding. Miller-Budnitskaya has mastered, and then gone beyond, the formalistic analysis of *Ulysses* by Stuart Gilbert and the Freudian emphasis of Herbert Gorman. Her treatment of Joyce's nihilism and pessimism is enriched by her insight into the literary traditions of the nineteenth century and her knowledge of Ireland's position in the modern world. She discusses the most important phases of the work: the symbolism derived from Joyce's scholastic framework of reference, and the naturalism which is permeated with Freudianism. She examines the significance of the parallel with the *Odyssey,* of the splintering of consciousness, of the linguistic inventions. And by keeping her eye on the object, she makes out the most convincing case I know—more persuasive than the analyses in *Axel's Castle* and in *The Coming Struggle for Power*—for the conclusion that *Ulysses,* though designed as an encyclopedic work, like the *Divine Comedy* or *Faust,* is actually a "self-negation of all contemporary Western civilization." Is it not a commentary on the rightness of Lenin's "Party Organization and Party Literature" that more than thirty years after its publication, a young woman in a Socialist society should be producing such a vigorous and intelligent and *proletarian* appraisal of this supreme symbol of decadence? One must be willfully blind to miss the point.

SAMUEL SILLEN.

Portrait of the Artist

PAINT AND PREJUDICE, *by C. R. W. Nevinson. Harcourt, Brace & Co. $3.50.*

THE recent crop of autobiographies by artists is a good sign. We have been hearing far too much from dealers and collectors; because of their speculative interest in art and artists, they have presumed to tell us all about art and life, art and personality, and understanding, and spirit—spirit, especially. As an artist not unfamiliar with starvation diets, I get the creeps every time I hear one of those overfed philistines preach at artists' spirit against matter.

Nevinson will win many friends among artists—to quite a few he should even give a thrill of vicarious satisfaction—for his well-aimed stabs at dealers, collectors, curators, and critics who by unscrupulous ballyhoo of nonentity cabal against non-conformists. Their artificial manipulation of art values stultifies the artist's calling and debases the world of art to a hunting ground of impostors and racketeers. All this, however, is incidental to the main theme of the book, the development and progress of an artist's career: education, influences, impact of external events and personalities, travel, personal misgivings, search for a sympathetic audience.

Nevinson tells his story in concise and graphic language. The note of rebellion is frequently sounded. He paints a devastating picture of upper-class education to which he was subjected early in life. Unreasoning chauvinism, clerical hypocrisy, contempt for the lower classes—"The German fascists of today feed on no greater confusion of patriotism and religion."

Nevinson traveled widely; was as much at home in France as in England; met Matisse, Picasso, Derain, Kisling, Severini, and other leading figures in modern art about whom he tells some amusing and revealing anecdotes. Together with Marinetti he helped launch futurism in England with the customary stunts of strident publicity. "It is a black thought for me," says Nevinson, "to look back and see that I was associated with Italian futurism, which ended in fascism. . . . What a fate for an intellectual ideal!"

Having participated in the World War, first as an ambulance driver and later as an official war artist, Nevinson was in a position to witness the life in and above the ranks. The inhuman self-righteousness of the clerics for whom each corpse was a visitation of God's wrath upon the sinful; the criminal callousness of the officials who would rather sacrifice a life than pay compensation for the loss of a limb; the enforcement of class distinctions; the stupid operation of the Defense of the Realm Act; the comedy enacted behind the lines for the benefit of distinguished visitors and the press—these form one more impassioned indictment of the war as conducted ". . . from the *Times* point of view." As a direct outgrowth of his experiences in the war Nevinson did a series of war paintings, among them *A Taube, Column of March, La Mitrailleuse, La Patrie, The Road to Ypres, Glittering Prizes, Road to Bapuame, Shell Holes,* and many others (several are reproduced in the book). They are among the best things in his entire career, but because they revealed war without patriotic camouflage, Nevinson was attacked by esthetic purists and war mongers alike, though for different reasons.

Nevinson twice visited the United States. The tales he tells sound rather tall, yet are probably genuine in the main, considering the circles he moved in. The Ritz-Carlton, exclusive Broadway night clubs, the Diamond Horseshoe, wealthy art patrons, a multimillionnaire's pent-house love nest, a slumming party to the Village—is it any wonder Nevinson's reports are caustic?

Nevinson emerges from the book as an artist not afraid to be contaminated by the living issues of his day. Quite the contrary, he allows social forces and cultural trends to

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shape his ideas in a progressive mould. And yet the unity of impression is disturbed by passages which would seem to indicate a divided allegiance. The lifelong fighter against esthetic convention is about to make peace with the Academy. The seasoned traveler and cosmopolite exhibits not a little of English chauvinism. The most egregious case of backsliding on a descending plane is his method of repudiating abstraction. Before the war one of the most active propagandists for abstraction, Nevinson became convinced in recent years that it ". . . was a *cul-de-sac* from which there was no escape. . . ." Seeking a theoretic justification, he lays the blame largely at the doors of the great historic scapegoat, the Jew. Esthetics makes strange bedfellows. Nevinson may think he is presenting an original discovery when he cites the Second Commandment and the Jew's alleged moneymaking propensities; the French and German fascists have preceded him. If instead of trying to bolster up bad theory by worse history, he only used his eyes, he would know that abstraction is no more (or just as much) characteristic of the Jew than photographic naturalism. Such statements do not add value to the book or credit to its author, and yet perhaps it is just as well that they appear, for if they seem inconsistent with other parts of the autobiography they may be consistent with the author's outlook and character.

LOUIS LOZOWICK.

No Matter What Your Age

COUNTRY LIFE STORIES, *by Elizabeth Perry Cannon and Helen Adele Whiting. E. P. Dutton & Co. 65 cents.*

THE ADVENTURES OF MISHA, *by Sergei Rosanov. Translated from the Russian by Ivy Low. Frederick A. Stokes Co. $1.50.*

THE CAUTIOUS CARP AND OTHER FABLES IN PICTURES, *by Nicholas Radlov. Coward-McCann. $1.50.*

TALES OF LIVING PLAYTHINGS, *by Antoniorrobles. Translated from the Spanish by Edward Huberman. Modern Age Books. 50 cents.*

FROM the days of *Little Black Sambo* to the current best-selling *Ezekiel,* juveniles written about Negro children have generally been handled in the same manner. The children were presented as picturesque little creatures to be loved, laughed at, and patronized. *Country Life Stories* is something new: a book written not only about Negro children but for them. It seems a pity that such a good idea should not come off better. The book is intended as a reader, for use in elementary schools; therefore the language must be simple, and the characters, rightly, do not speak in dialect. But it should be possible by other means to give some flavor of the rural South; these stories are so simplified that they take place in a blank. They are designed, according to the foreword, "to help develop appreciation

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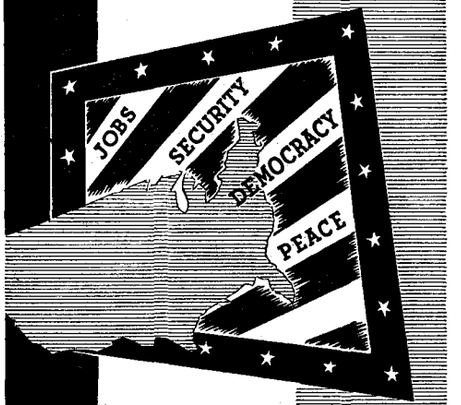

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for rural community helpers." From somewhere these superior beings descend: teachers, agricultural agents, home-economics agents, and others, bringing everything from "pretty beef" to insurance policies and progressive education. Little puppets with the names of children ask them the right questions and get the right answers. The text lacks entirely the spirit of the pictures by Vernon Winslow, which are simple too, but have color and life.

The Adventures of Misha, intended for about the same age level—Misha himself calls it the in-between group—is informative also, but the information is given as part of a story with real suspense and humor in it. Misha, about to start on a skiing holiday with his papa, gets lost in the railroad depot in Moscow, and before he is found again, the telegraph, the telephone, the newspaper, the lost-persons bureau, have been called into action, while Misha, searching for his father with nonchalant independence, sees the inside workings of steam engines, motor buses, and trams. It is interesting to note that the persons of authority in *Country Life Stories* are standardized to an unreal pattern, while this Russian book, far from being propaganda writing, represents the officials whom Misha meets as kindly, helpful, a bit careless and casual—in other words, as human beings.

Luckily children don't always have to be learning something. And even adults can have a good time over such books as *The Cautious Carp,* and *Tales of Living Playthings.* There is as much mischief as moral to Nicholas Radlov's picture-fables, and his animals, when they are greedy or ambitious or surprised, or just chasing along with their tails in the air, are so expressively drawn that there is no need for the mediocre verses which accompany them. For instance, any child would find such a heading as "You're pretty lucky if you have an elephant for a mother" quite enough of an explanation.

Tales of Living Playthings is the sort of magic you rarely find—a collection of really

Sid Gotcliffe

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WYFIPs in London

Imagine our pleased surprise to pick up a recent copy of *The Left Review* (from Lunnun) and meet ourselves right smack on the back page. "WYFIPs* get subs for New Masses in the U. S. A.," it said, "why not do a little wyfiping here?" Paul Revere was right, the British are up and coming, and we'll be glad to exchange circulation ideas with them any old time.

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NORA BENJAMIN.

Proust, Giraudoux, Gide and Morand

FOUR FRENCH NOVELISTS, *by Georges Lemaitre. Oxford University Press. $3.50.*

PROFESSOR LEMAITRE of McGill University has written studies of four recent French novelists that will be of great use to students of the modern novel. In discussing Marcel Proust, André Gide, Jean Giraudoux, and Paul Morand he has followed the method of Lanson. An account of the author's life precedes an analysis of his social and philosophical ideas, which leads up to a final section devoted to his "art."

Professor Lemaitre's method presupposes the objectivity of the scholar, and this is tantamount to taking the novelist at his own evaluation, as interpreted by the circle of his admirers. The four novelists represent aspects of contemporary French life, and Lemaitre does not attempt to relate them in the light of any dominating pattern. Marxian readers will have to supply the evaluation for themselves.

The chapter on Proust is valuable for its clarification of Proust's conception of time. Equally important is the distinction between the earthly and the spiritual in Gide. But though Lemaitre points out the artificiality of Giraudoux and the superficiality of Morand, he gives them an equal amount of space and sympathy. And in no case does he make any attempt to trace their fundamental formative influences in social history. He does not, for instance, mention the significant fact that Proust and Gide, who take bourgeois decadence very seriously, were of an earlier generation than Giraudoux and Morand, whose essential frivolity certainly reflects some sort of conservative drift in a France shaken by internal discontent and the rise of the Popular Front. But these interpretations will be self-evident to a Marxian reader, and their absence from the book does not detract from the usefulness of its factual information.

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Brief Reviews

THESE FOREIGNERS, *by William Seabrook, Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York. $2.50.*

Mr. William Seabrook is a dyed-in-the-wool Republican who believes that America is still the proverbial land of milk and honey and that rugged individualism and a good boiling in the melting pot is the only recipe required for churning poor immigrants into successful and patriotic American citizens. Obviously the ghost of industrial and social unrest has never disturbed the tranquillity of Mr. Seabrook's mind. He repeatedly repudiates any concern in such matters, so that his book, robbed of any directive idea, degenerates merely into pleasant gossip.

Mr. Seabrook has met everyone who is socially and intellectually anyone in cosmopolitan sets from coast to coast. Prince Obelinsky, owner of the St. Regis Hotel, who still "works as though he had not married an Astor," discussed his chapter on the Russians with him at lunch, at the St. Regis. He descended into a coal mine in Pennsylvania with some Polish miners who "yearned to grow cabbages but worked in mines." After wondering naïvely how "anyone could take it," he came to the profound conclusion that mining was "like war—war against the blind, treacherous, black forces of nature. I began to understand why a man would voluntarily work in a coal mine. . . . Heroism might be a name for it." This was as near as Mr. Seabrook came to being touched by the problems of the worker.

If you are ever in a fog about general unemployment affecting foreign and American born alike, the problem of the jobless wage earner over forty, the slums, or the sabotage of union members by employers, just pick up *These Foreigners;* the clouds will soon lift from your mind and the sun will shine reassuringly over God's own country.

HELEN BURLIN.

HARVEST COMEDY, *by Frank Swinnerton. Doubleday, Doran & Co. $2.50.*

After a brief description of three old men, who pass each other on the street without showing the slightest sign of recognition, Mr. Swinnerton takes them back to their schooldays and traces their growth into manhood and maturity. William Harvest, a combination of the "good man" and the productive artist of the bourgeois world, is that solid hero whose occasional lapses are readily accepted as unavoidable and forgivable. While at rare moments Dick Firth can be impulsively generous, his selfish treatment of his acquaintances and his greed for power ultimately leads him to his own destruction. Robert Whistler is the honest, practical merchant who lacks the imagination to penetrate into the more subtle, intimate relationships around him and so remains the everlasting, dissatisfied outsider.

The detailed, photographic realism never surpasses the best of Arnold Bennett or John Galsworthy. Mr. Swinnerton's reliance on the "falsities within" as "betraying" the true development of his characters is just another repetition of the obsolete, mechanical psychology of the pre-war period.

GEORGE ABRAMS.

MEN ARE NOT STARS, *by C. A. Millspaugh. Doubleday, Doran & Co. $2.50.*

It would be too obvious to say that *Men Are Not Stars* is as inauspicious and unimportant in subject matter as the title itself is inept. Millspaugh depends entirely too much upon documentation of detail. The trivial life of a maladjusted and misguided painter and his family assumes an importance in Millspaugh's mind that is as unfortunate as the unrewarded days of his central character. In an era that is marked by the social awareness and revolutionary techniques of the larger percentage of its creative workers, it is difficult to see why Millspaugh should write 365 pages about a painter who thought in terms of canvases that seemed to him progressively important as they became larger in size.

NORMAN MACLEOD.

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SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

Movie Against War

HOW a sincere film producer can weaken a stirring idea by concessions to real or imaginary pressure groups is illustrated in *The Fight for Peace,* produced by Warwick Films from continuity by Hendrik Willem van Loon. The new anti-war documentary at the Criterion adds up with terrible candor the aggressions of fascism in Ethiopia, China, Austria, and Spain. It does not fail to cry out in plain and eloquent terms against the fascist war machine with newsreel shots that leave its audience trembling with anger.

The film was made as a commercial venture; the producers hope to distribute *The Fight for Peace* as a regular program picture through the eighteen thousand movie-houses in America. They emphatically did not mean to make a picture of limited circulation in the arty houses. From Will Hays to the Anti-Defamation League, they have been importuned to make cuts and additions to suit the views of the many groups involved. This is the old, old story of any pioneering picture under commercial auspices. The dollar tends to be bigger than principle, no matter how high intentions may be.

Thus Warwick Films finds itself with a picture which does not follow its title; there isn't a hint of how to fight for peace in the final sequence which consists of a long clip from Roosevelt's Chicago speech. The President at Chicago said that the peaceful nations should quarantine the aggressors, a clear statement in favor of collective security. This one positive sentence in the speech is not present in the movie. The makers explain they could not get that part of the speech from the newsreel companies, hinting that the phrase was not recorded or that a censorship is in operation against the statement. The meaningful way the film is put together fairly cries out for a direct final presentation of the only solution—collective security—but the makers failed.

Unfortunately the picture does not mention the International Brigades in Spain, the Eighth Route Army (former Red Army) unifying China against the Japanese invasion, or the great Soviet Army preserving what areas of peace there are in Europe. The only sequence on the Soviet Union concerns the revolutionary period, and the picture is honest with the Soviets, calling Lenin and Stalin the leaders of their people and branding Trotsky as a turncoat.

The picture is important because it pulls no punches in telling America how fascism makes war. Foot after foot the indictment adds up. It is something to be glad for if the American people get to see these things. It is something to be profoundly sorry for that the producers did not tell the American people how to really escape these horrors—through immediate coöperation of the democracies in economically crippling fascism before it eats up the world. The picture's obsession with fascist horror, the proud legions of Hitler marching, the steel murderers in the air, and casual Japanese slaughter of civilians in China, is not balanced by any hopeful fact, any assurance to the American people that the military forces of civilization—the Spanish people and the American fighters in Spain, the glorious Eighth Route Army—are already meeting fascism and looking to America for encouragement. Psychologically, the picture produces fear and loathing. But since Mr. van Loon meant to fight for peace, we regret his failure to suggest some answer to the question: *how?*

Recently Recommended Plays

Prologue to Glory (Maxine Elliott, N. Y.). Federal Theatre production of E. P. Conkle's play about Lincoln's early life, the affair with Ann Rutledge, and his first steps away from the life of the New Salem country store.

Haiti (Lafayette, N. Y.). Rex Ingram plays the lead in this stirring tale of how one of Toussaint L'Overture's generals foiled Napoleon's attempt to restore slavery in Haiti.

One-third of a Nation (Adelphi, N. Y.). The current issue of The Living Newspaper, headlining the lack of adequate housing for President Roosevelt's 33 1-3 percent, and emphasizing the need for action. Thoroughly documented, witty, and admirably produced.

WARNER BROTHERS have just issued one of the best films ever to come from Hollywood. The hero organizes the people against economic injustice and foreign invaders. He robs the rich and gives to the poor in a gallant and intrepid campaign to save his country from a gang of thieving aristocrats. You may have guessed that his name is Robin Hood and that he unites the poor and restores Good King Richard to his rightful throne. His social consciousness is even great enough to lead him to criticize the king for going gadding on a Crusade when he should be home, administering justice.

The Adventures of Robin Hood, now at the Music Hall, is a spectacular technicolor version of the old, lovely legend of Sir Robin of Locksley who takes to the greenwood with his band and scourges treacherous Prince John and the villainous Sir Guy of Gisbourne from the fair Saxon isle. A legend loved as long as this one is close to the hearts of the people. Didn't an inspired New York schoolboy a few weeks ago choose Robin Hood as his favorite hero because he robbed the rich and gave to the poor "just like President Roosevelt"? The Warners have paid their respects to this lasting value of the story by providing a script which does not smudge over the real reasons for Robin Hood's outlawry. I am really not trying to bend over backwards to read significance into the film. It is essentially a pageant of daring adventure but the producers have seen fit to make it believable also. To do this the film had to be motivated on grounds that hold from the England of the twelfth century to our own day, the theme of a people fighting against their oppressors.

Errol Flynn is an athletic and charming Robin Hood, and his united front includes Ian Hunter as King Richard, Olivia de Haviland as Maid Marian, Eugene Pallette as Friar Tuck, Alan Hale as Long John, Herbert Mundin as Much, and Patrick Knowles as Will Scarlett, while the forces of reaction are headed by Claude Rains as Prince John, Basil Rathbone as Sir Guy of Gisbourne, Melville Cooper as the Sheriff of Nottingham, and Montagu Love as the clerical traitor, the Bishop of Black Canon. The cast and production are magnificent, and the picture is one you'll enjoy seeing.

JAMES DUGAN.

The Phonograph Rocks the Cradle

TWO or three months ago I was yelping for a recording of *The Cradle Will Rock,* more in hope than faith, and scant hope, when I heard that the Mercury production was going to close. The show itself was something of a miracle ("the most exciting evening of theater this New York generation has seen"), but the transfer to discs—even after its sensationally successful run—called for plenty of miracle-making. The problems of expense and mechanical difficulties to be

Recently Recommended Movies

Test Pilot. Spencer Tracy, Clark Gable, and Myrna Loy in an exciting melodrama of stunts in the air and drinks on the ground with notable montage work by Slavko Vorkapitch in the air scenes.

Life Dances On. A French *tour de force,* marked by the finest acting in years by Pierre Blanchar, Françoise Rosay, Harry Baur, Louis Jouvet, Raimu, Fernandel and others. Highly recommended.

To the Victor. Plague the manager of your neighborhood theater until he gets this swell Scotch picture, starring Will Fyffe, and directed by Robert Stevenson.

There's Always a Woman. A variation on *The Thin Man* sort of thing. In it are Melvyn Douglas, Mary Astor, and Joan Blondell, who begins to look like our best comedienne.

Lonely White Sail. Taken from Valentin Kataev's novel of the aftermath of the revolt on the armored cruiser, *Potemkin.* A fine and stirring Soviet film.

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surmounted were tough enough, but the fundamental difficulty was, who had the nerve to tackle it? Some individuals in the major companies were interested but lacked nerve and authority. The best they could do was to suggest dance-band versions of some of the hit tunes, with, of course, some of the edges taken off the too biting texts. But if Broadway has its Mercury Theatre and Mr. Welles, the phonograph has Musicraft Records and Messrs. Rein and Cohen. And we have them to thank for the handsome red and black album-set of seven discs with a permanent performance of the Mercury production of *The Cradle,* intact with cast, Blitzstein and his piano, and the original musico-dramatic dynamite.

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The first scene is clipped a bit, skipping the dialogue between the Moll (Olive Stanton) and the Gent, Moll, and Dick (Guido Alexander), but that brings us all the quicker to the roundup of the Liberty Committee and the plunge into the first case, that of Reverend Salvation (Charles Niemeyer) and his 1915-16-17 sermons—record-sides two and three—the latter completed with Junior (Maynard Holmes) and Sister (Dulce Fox) Mister's luscious "Croon Spoon." Side four brings in Mr. Mister (Ralph MacBane) and Editor Daily (Bert Weston) and their apostrophe to the "Freedom of the Press," and side five completes the scene with the incomparable "Honolulu." The Drugstore episode (Druggist, John Adair; Steve Howard Bird; Sadie, Marian Rudley; and Gus, George Fairchild) and the poignant "Love Song" take up sides six and seven, with the next two presenting the riotous scene of Mrs. Mister (Peggy Coudray) and her protégés Yasha (Edward Fuller) and Dauber (Jules Schmidt).

Side ten brings us back to the Nightcourt and one of the musical high points of the work, the "Nickel" song by the Moll. Larry Foreman (Howard Da Silva) enters on side eleven with the title song—and incidentally, Mr. Da Silva may have been criticized for overacting a bit on the stage, but his recorded performance is an irreproachable masterpiece of blended subtlety and power. Mr. Blitzstein gives us the gist of the Facultyroom and Specialist-Mister scenes, leading up to another peak, "Joe Worker," superbly sung by Ella (Blanche Collins) on side thirteen; and the work ends with the climactic finale intact.

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Filibuster and the National Negro Congress

FOR the benefit of the National Negro Congress, the Negro Cultural Committee took over the Mecca Auditorium in New York to put on *The Bourbons Got the Blues,* a new kind of Negro show. Featured were Tommy Anderson, of the Hollywood production of the W.P.A. *Macbeth,* Georgia Burke, Duke Ellington, the "Beethoven of Jazz," Rex Ingram, who has done more for the Negro theater than anyone since Paul Robeson, Canada Lee, Frank Wilson, who was the original "Porgie," a ballet company under the direction of Anna Sokolow, and a host of others, to say in monologues, music, and dance that "Uncle Tom Is Dead," that the Negro remembers his heroes, working-class heroes, that the Negro is organizing for his freedom, that "There'll Come a Day" (words and music by Duke Ellington)—and that *The Bourbons Got the Blues.*

High spots of the evening were Frank Wilson's dramatization of the life and death of Denmark Vesey who in 1819 at Charleston led the best organized slave insurrection in America; Georgia Burke's homey, unpretentious conversion story on the domestic worker's curb market; Duke Ellington at the piano; and Rex Ingram's reading of the brave and brilliant speech of Frederick Douglass, Negro abolitionist, at Rochester on July 4, 1852. *Filibuster,* the satiric ballet by Anna Sokolow, with music by Alex North, was the *pièce de resistance.*

Filibuster (done principally in stylized, familiar movement, reminiscent of Kurt Jooss), centered about the austere Washington Senate turned into a marble-shooting, kite-flying, toy-pistol-toting kindergarten while the hypnotized and hypnotizing Senators Bilbo and Ellender pour forth (through an off-stage loud speaker) an almost incredible rush of obscene pro-fascist garbage to kill the Anti-Lynching Bill. The satire would have been a lot funnier, if the situation were less acutely real and demanding of the protest the ballet called for.

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New Masses Special

NEW MASSES, MAY 24, 1938, VOL. XXVII, NO. 9. NEW YORK, N. Y., IN TWO SECTIONS, OF WHICH THIS IS SECTION TWO

A DEBATE

"Should the United States Government Join in Concerted Action Against the Fascist States?"

For the Affirmative:

EARL BROWDER

General Secretary, Communist Party, U. S. A.

For the Negative:

FREDERICK J. LIBBY

Executive Secretary, National Council for Prevention of War

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, CHAIRMAN

THE following is a full report of the debate held at Madison Square Garden, New York, on May 4, 1938, under the auspices of NEW MASSES. Each of the speakers has revised his own text. Robert Morss Lovett was chairman.—THE EDITORS.

The Chairman

COMRADES, FELLOW-WORKERS, FRIENDS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: We are all grateful to NEW MASSES for making this occasion possible. I am especially grateful for the honor and privilege of introducing the distinguished speakers who will follow. I sometimes regret that I never joined the Presbyterian Church, because that church has an official known as a Moderator. I feel that my function in connection with this great peace movement is that of moderating the passions of those who are so enthusiastic for this or that method of keeping out of war that when the crisis actually comes we shall be unable to present a united front in favor of peace.

I am not in the least afraid of what any other country can do to us. I do not believe that any other country will make war upon the United States. I believe that we must consider the peace question from the point of view of the American people. How can we as human beings keep ourselves from making war; and help keep war out of the world? I believe thoroughly in the value of such public discussions as we are going to have this evening. I believe that this discussion increases the interest in the question of peace, and the desire of the American people for peace. Further, I believe there is a place in these discussions for both points of view which will be presented tonight.

In 1914 I was an isolationist and if the same situation arose again (an imperialist war), I should be an isolationist again. On the other hand, I was strong for collective action in the period after 1920 when I believed the United States had an opportunity to join an organization tending toward collective security, toward keeping war out of the world. Taking a long view of the situation, the state of the world at the present time is based upon conquest; and in order to correct this state, in order to make peace genuinely possible, all the nations that desire peace must unite to that end. The task is too great for any single country.

Tonight we are discussing the question: Should the United States government join in concerted action against the fascist states? The affirmative will be presented by Mr. Earl Browder, the general secretary of the Communist Party of America, and the negative will be presented by Mr. Frederick J. Libby, the executive secretary of the National Council for Prevention of War. At the outset Mr. Browder will speak until 9:30, at which time there will be a radio broadcast in which the speakers will participate in joint debate. Mr. Libby will then speak for forty-five minutes, after which Mr. Browder will speak in rebuttal for ten minutes, Mr. Libby for fifteen, and Mr. Browder five minutes in closing.

I am going to ask this audience to restrain their expressions of approval and disapproval because in order to keep to our program on time it is necessary that the speakers should have every minute at their disposal. The time belongs to them rather than to us, therefore I ask you to give the speakers every opportunity to present their respective cases to this audience. And now as the opening of this debate it gives me very great pleasure to introduce an old friend, as well as an honored leader, Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party of America.

Mr. Browder

MR. CHAIRMAN, MR. LIBBY, AND FRIENDS: My task tonight is to sustain the position that the United States, in the interests of preserving world peace, should take part in concerted international action to restrain the fascist warmaking governments.

It is in the interest of clarity that Mr. Libby is the spokesman for the opposite point of view, because he is the most consistent spokesman for the neutrality bloc which promises to keep America out of war through isolationist policies.

Before we examine any proposals directed toward world peace, perhaps we should first answer the question—is world peace worth

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preserving? The most prominent spokesmen for the so-called neutrality policy have generally agreed that it is not worth the effort. They have abandoned the very idea of world peace. They have substituted the acceptance of an inevitable general world war. Some of them even consider that such a war will be of benefit to the rest of the world. They agree only that America should at all costs keep out of the war and, therefore, faced with a world in danger of war, keep out of world affairs.

Allow me to speak against all of these ideas. It is possible to halt those forces which are dragging the world toward war. It is worthwhile doing this because, however bad may be the peace precariously maintained at present, it is better than war. To attempt to isolate America from world affairs, at a moment when her moral and economic influence could be decisive in the interests of peace, means in reality to surrender the world to the warmakers, to make America their partner, and finally, to bring that war to the whole American people.

Is it possible to identify the enemies of world peace? Is it possible to direct our main effort toward restraining them? Mr. Libby and his friends say no. They say all governments are equally guilty of threatening world peace. They say any attempt to identify the warmakers means an arbitrary and unreal classification of governments as "angels" and "devils." They place in the criminals' dock the government of the United States and President Roosevelt alongside the Nazi regime and Hitler. In the present state of the world it seems rather childish to find it necessary to argue against such a point of view. The whole world knows who it is that sends invading armies across borders and against other nations. The whole world knows who is conducting aggressive war on other people's territory and who threatens further war. It is not at all necessary to look for "angels" and "devils," but only to ask who aggressively cross their own borders. They are the governments of the self-styled anti-Communist alliance, the governments headed by Hitler, Mussolini, and the Mikado. If it is desirable to restrain the warmakers, then it is possible to identify them without the slightest doubt. It is further possible to deal with them as a group, because they are associated with common aims.

Perhaps, however, the warmakers are so powerful and so well placed that the peoples and governments who seek peace cannot hope to restrain them, and must of necessity retreat or surrender? But most obviously this is not true. The warmaking governments control—by terror and suppression—not more than 10 percent of the population of the world. Their control of economic resources is certainly no more favorable to them. Mr. Libby assumes that it is even more favorable to the peace-seeking peoples by identifying the warmakers as the "have-not" nations. The peace-seeking peoples occupy the most strategic positions geographically, which makes the isolation of the warmakers a relatively simple technical problem. Finally, the peace-seekers have an enormous moral advantage. They express the desire of all peoples, even those controlled by the fascist governments, for peace. This moral advantage can consolidate not only the overwhelming majority of the peace-seeking nations behind a positive peace policy, but it is also capable of arousing the oppressed millions under the fascist governments, once the easy victories of the dictators come to an end. The peace-seeking peoples have an overwhelming advantage in numbers and resources, in geographical and moral positions. They are superior in every factor which can influence the course of world affairs—except the will to use their advantage. This missing factor I wish to help produce. Mr. Libby is against producing the missing factor. This is the essential difference between us.

What is the secret of the success of the fascists in their drive toward world domination? It is an open secret which the whole world knows. It is the division among the peace-seekers. The warmaking powers know what they want and move toward it concertedly and ruthlessly. They take one bite at a time out of the world they wish to devour entirely. Manchuria was taken by the Japanese militarists, while the rest of the world did nothing except utter moral condemnation. Ethiopia was invaded by Mussolini—and the gestures of restraint were carefully calculated not to be effective, and quickly abandoned when they inconvenienced Mussolini. The demilitarized Rhineland was occupied and fortified by the Nazis—and again there was only the reading of a moral lecture. Spain is invaded by Hitler and Mussolini and subjected to the most ferocious slaughter—and the peace-seeking nations respond by treating the Spanish republic as the criminal to be quarantined. Austria is invaded and wiped out as an independent nation—and Mr. Libby, with his associates of the neutrality bloc, hail the event as "a step towards stability." It is clear that the fascists succeed in dragging the world into war because the peace forces of the Western democracies are divided; they have no general plan of action; many of them desert one another; they act with the greatest consideration toward the fascist warmakers and the greatest lack of consideration toward their victims. The majority of peace-seeking nations, the bourgeois-democratic countries, have allowed themselves to become confused and paralyzed by the threat of fascist aggression from without and by the demagogic trickery of powerful reactionary minorities within.

It is clear that the whole problem is that of defeating the reactionary minorities within, and achieving some degree of a common front among, the peace-seeking nations. The trump card of my opponent and his associates of the neutrality bloc, upon which they gamble all their chips, is, in the last analysis, the confusion and disunity among the peace-seeking peoples and their assumption that this condition is not remediable. They assume that there is no leadership capable of bringing any unity among the peace-seekers. They point to the fact that when the Soviet Union, through the Litvinov proposals, gives the initiative to this end, the Western democracies are silent, refusing to allow the land of Socialism to lead the peace forces. They point to the fact that when the Mexican republic, through President Cárdenas, offers a similar initiative, the great democracies are too proud to take a lead from one of the smaller nations. They point to the fact that Britain, assumed to be among the democracies, has turned her back on the goal of organized peace and, under the leadership of Chamberlain, is making her own terms with the warmakers at the expense of the rest of the world. They point to the fact that the French republic, itself saved from a fascist insurrection only by the hasty erection of the *Front Populaire,* is paralyzed by fear and drags at the apron-strings of Chamberlain. Where, they triumphantly ask, is there a leadership which can bring any stability into this swamp of indecision and cowardice?

There is not the slightest desire on my part to evade or underestimate any of these difficulties. It is only by facing them fully and frankly that we can find the way to overcome them. But we declare that it is possible to overcome all difficulties, it is possible to organize the world peace-front. This is possible, however, only on condition that we set ourselves this task, that we refuse to surrender either to our own difficulties or to the threats of the warmakers. We declare that the alternative is to surrender the world to universal catastrophe.

From where can the leadership come that has the possibility of organizing the peace forces of the world? We propose that it shall come from the United States. The United States has the strongest selfish interest in peace, without which it cannot maintain world commerce so necessary to it under the present system. We say that the United States is in the privileged position of being able to assume world leadership for peace without serious danger to itself. The United States holds in its hands the key to world peace. The question before us is, shall we hesitate, fumble, and drop this key through fear or incapacity? If we do, that will be the most unprofitable and most shameful page in American history.

Let us, before we proceed farther, examine in more detail this privileged position in which the United States finds itself. I am glad to note that on this point Mr. Libby agrees with me. He has written several times recently that the United States is entirely immune from foreign invasion. In February 1938 he wrote: "We should give due consideration to the fact which is vouched for by leading military and naval experts, that our country cannot be

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invaded. . . . We cannot have a war, therefore, unless we seek it abroad." I will leave it to Mr. Libby to establish this point in detail. I accept it as substantially correct with two important qualifications: first, that it is true only for the immediate period and the present world-relation of forces but will be changed substantially if the fascist governments succeed in subjugating Western Europe and China; and second, it is true only for continental United States and does not apply to the Philippines, Hawaii and the Pacific Islands, or Alaska. I must, however, draw opposite conclusions from those of Mr. Libby from these facts. He says that, since we are safe, we should risk nothing for the peace of the world. I say, precisely because we are safe for the present we, above all, must take the leadership in preserving the peace of the world, which is also to guarantee our own peace for the future.

A further feature of America's privileged position is our unexampled economic resources. Not only has the United States almost half of the world's accumulated wealth and productive resources, but we are also most nearly, among all nations, economically self-sufficient. Considering the greater mobility of American wealth and production, we can easily say that the economic weight of our country in world affairs is equal to, or greater than, that of all other countries combined.

In short, we are not exaggerating when we say that the United States occupies a position as nearly ideal as one could hope to find in this imperfect world, for leadership in organizing world peace.

Power without responsibility is soon dissipated. We propose that our country should accept the responsibility that goes with power. We propose American leadership to save the world from war.

Of course, we are keenly conscious that anyone who advocates world peace in this practical way will be charged with being in favor, in reality, of a preventive war against the fascist powers. I am certain that Mr. Libby will repeat this charge tonight as he has been making it heretofore at every opportunity. When President Roosevelt, in his famous Chicago speech advocating quarantine of the aggressors, gave a brief indication of such a positive peace policy as I am defending, the neutrality advocates joined in the shout that this was a policy of dragging America into war. But what do we actually propose? We propose to make peace profitable and war unprofitable. We do not propose war or any steps that would lead toward war. We do not propose any entangling alliances, nor any limitation upon American freedom of decision and action. We do not even propose that America shall accept leadership from any other country. We do not propose to abandon any of the great American traditions in foreign policy. We do not propose any revolutionary innovations.

The sum and substance of a positive peace policy, according to our conception, is to withdraw America's economic and moral influence from direct or indirect support of the warmaking governments, and to cast this influence instead on the side of peace and the peace-seeking nations. We propose that the United States should distinguish between those nations which violate their obligations to us to refrain from warlike aggression against their neighbors, obligations which they voluntarily assumed by solemn treaty, and those governments which on the contrary observe these treaty obligations. We propose that the United States shall cut off all economic intercourse with those governments which violate the Kellogg pact outlawing war, and shall maintain and extend our economic relations with the governments which observe their treaty obligations and especially with those who are victims of aggression. We propose that the United States shall follow a policy designed to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations.

The whole substance of the policy which I defend here is embodied in the provisions of the O'Connell Peace Bill, which is now before Congress.

What would be the result of the application of this policy? It would mean the immediate lifting of the embargo against republican Spain—a shameful embargo which was an unfriendly act against a democratic government, a violation of our own treaty obligations, and against the interests of America. In its place, it would lay an embargo against all commercial and economic relations with Germany, Italy, and Japan, as well as against Franco's armies of invasion in Spain. It would mean that American scrap iron, cotton, chemicals, and machinery would stop going to Japan to assist the enslavement of the Chinese people. It would mean stopping the hundreds of thousands of aerial bombs now being shipped from America to Hitler. It would mean the complete divorce of American economy from its present service to the warmaking governments.

Mr. Libby is already on record that this does not create the danger that the fascist governments will counter such an embargo by making war against the United States. But many of his friends in the neutrality bloc do not agree with him on this. In particular, Dr. Charles E. Beard, speaking for an important part of the neutrality bloc, has written in the *New Republic* directly against the policy I am defending, that if the United States ever undertook such a task, then in all likelihood the fascist powers in a "war frenzy," "a spirit of world power or downfall," "would strike back" and make war against the United States. Against this argument of the Beard section of the neutrality bloc I place the evidence of Mr. Libby himself that "our country cannot be invaded, we cannot have a war unless we seek it abroad." Unfortunately the unity of the neutrality bloc is an unprincipled one, and Mr. Libby and Dr. Beard simply agree to disagree on this point, without in any way disturbing their harmonious coöperation in keeping America isolated at all costs. This difference of opinion between them is merely a division of labor. Mr. Libby is to round up for neutrality all those who will agree on the basis of the argument of safety, while Dr. Beard shall round up those who can be scared into neutrality by the threat of immediate invasion.

Would this policy, which is embodied in the O'Connell Peace Bill, bring the United States into entangling alliances or limit our freedom of decision and action? Not in the slightest. We propose that the United States should assume no special obligations toward any government except the obligation of impartially applying this policy to all and sundry. Once the policy is established, of course, it is assumed that the United States would welcome the adherence to the same sort of policy by as many governments as would wish to do so or which could be persuaded to do so. We know in advance that some important powers will immediately follow the lead of the United States, among them certainly the Soviet Union and Mexico. We can assume that the people of France would greet such action by the United States with the deepest joy, because it would liberate their People's Front government from its humiliating bondage to the pro-fascist, tory government of England. We can reasonably expect that, with such a profound change in the relation of world forces, the British Labor Party would shake off its present paralysis of fear, and actively rally the peace-loving majority of the English people behind it. We can be absolutely certain that, as a result of such a policy, the peoples of Spain and China would be enormously strengthened in their heroic struggle against the fascist invaders and would quickly administer for the first time some decisive military blows against the invaders and thus realize in the most practical fashion the popular slogan, "Take the profits out of war." Through all of these consequences of the adoption of the O'Connell Peace Bill the United States would find its privileged position of exemption from the immediate threat of war not weakened, but, on the contrary, greatly strengthened. In facing every question it would in no wise be hampered in freedom of decision or action by any entangling alliances or special obligations.

Is there any danger that with such a policy the United States would become a catspaw for the sinister ambitions of other powers? Would there be any danger of falling under the domination of "perfidious Albion," or raking British chestnuts out of the fire? This is the great bogeyman of one section of Mr. Libby's neutrality bloc. His associate, Mr. Quincy Howe, has written a whole book on the subject, the conclusion of which is that the British tories are so damnably clever and Americans such constitutional simpletons

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that the only way we can avoid being the catspaw of British imperialism is by complete withdrawal from world affairs. But, strangely enough, neither Mr. Howe nor any other Anglophobe has the slightest difficulty continuing in the closest comradeship with Mr. Libby when he praises the Chamberlain tory government for capitulation to Mussolini, says this is the only path to peace, and openly advises the United States to model its own foreign policy on the example of Chamberlain. Strangely enough, they fear British imperialism only if the Labor Party should come to power and swing England to the support of a world-peace front headed by the United States. But they are quite complacent toward a British imperialism expressed in Chamberlain's alliance with fascism and even want us to follow England along that shameful road.

Would the policy that we propose require us to break with the great American traditions in foreign policy? No, on the contrary, precisely this policy, and only this, would give us a continuation of that greatest of all American traditions in this field that was established by Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State under Washington's administration. At that time the young and weak American republic, occupying a position far removed from our present overwhelming strength, was not afraid, in the interests of peace and democracy, to boldly challenge the reactionary aggressors and align itself on the side of their victim. When in 1793 France, a new republic such as Spain today, was attacked and blockaded, Thomas Jefferson wrote:

> The idea seems to gain credit that the naval powers combining against France will prohibit supplies, even of provisions, to that country. . . . I should hope that Congress . . . would instantly exclude from our ports all the manufactures, produce, vessels, and subjects of the nations committing this aggression, during the continuation of the aggression, and till full satisfaction is made for it.

About the same time Jefferson wrote to Morris, Minister to France, the following:

> We received information that a National Assembly had met, with full power to transact the affairs of the nation, and soon afterwards the Minister of France here presented an application for three million livres, to be laid out in provisions to be sent to France. . . . We had no hesitation to comply with the application . . . and we shall . . . omit no opportunity of convincing that nation how cordially we wish to serve them . . . placing our commerce with that nation and its dependencies on the freest and most encouraging footing possible.

What America needs today, what the world needs, is a foreign policy based upon these lines of Thomas Jefferson. The general line of such a policy has been proposed by President Roosevelt. It is contained in the O'Connell Bill. The whole country must be rallied to support it, and to demand its energetic application in life.

Does the policy which I defend call for a revolutionary change of the principles of twentieth-century American foreign policy? No, on the contrary, the basic principle of all American post-war foreign policy is embodied in the Kellogg-Briand pact, initiated by the United States and signed by almost every government in the world, which pledged its signers to abstain from war as an instrument of policy. We propose nothing further than the recognition of all violations of this treaty, the exclusion of the violators from economic intercourse with us, and the provision of economic aid to the victims of such violation.

Let us pass on to the consideration of some of the typical and standard arguments of the isolationist school of thought, which Mr. Libby shares and which must be answered here. One of the most used is the argument that America must not take sides against the warmakers, because, while they may be formally violating treaties and world peace, in reality this is only because they have been unjustly dealt with; that they are the "proletariat among nations," that they represent the "have-not" peoples, whose demands must be vindicated against the rich nations, against the "haves." We cannot join with Mr. Libby in assuming that, even if this were true, America should assist or condone the resort to war to remedy the supposed grievances. But we challenge the assumption of Mr. Libby's facile classification into "haves" and "have-nots." If we are to assist the "have-nots" against the "haves," then surely we must help Ethiopia take possession of Italy and not the other way around; we must help Manchuria to some of the Japanese wealth; we must help the Chinese people make Japanese economy serve their great needs and not the other way around. The wildest stretch of even Mr. Libby's imagination cannot paint Czechoslovakia as a "have" nation in contrast with Nazi Germany which threatens its destruction. It is true that the bandit governments, when they have gobbled up the small and most "have-not" countries, will move towards the object of their greater ambitions, the wealthy countries, and, above all, the United States, but that is only the music of the future. I have yet to hear Mr. Libby or any of his associates propose that that half of the world's wealth which is held by less than 10 percent of the world's population of the United States should be divided up among the other nations of the world in order to bring about that equality among the peoples which would wipe out this classification of "haves" and "have-nots." Perhaps Mr. Libby does believe that America's wealth should be so distributed. If so, he could tell us tonight. If not, he should drop the meaningless classification of "haves" and "have-nots" which is only a shame-faced justification for fascist aggression. It is an interesting historical sidelight on this argument that it was Japanese imperialism which taught this slogan to Mr. Libby and his friends, which first justified military aggression against weaker peoples on the grounds that the aggressor was hard up, a "proletarian among the nations," and needed the booty. Every common criminal is equally justified in his crime.

But Mr. Libby, in common with all his associates, strenuously objects to the introduction of moral standards into the relations between nations. They say it is unrealistic and dangerous. They say this is the unreal classification of governments into "angels" and "devils." They cry, we all are sinners together, therefore let none pass moral judgment upon his neighbor. Since Mr. Libby is personally a Quaker and a pacifist and also, if he draws the logical conclusions from his position, a philosophical anarchist who would desire the immediate dissolution of all governments, there is a certain logic and consistency in his position, but for the great majority of workaday Americans, who are not Quakers, are not pacifists and not anarchists, this summary dismissal of moral standards from the field of foreign relations is unacceptable. We are too keenly conscious of the results of such an attitude in the destruction of the standards of morals and justice between man and man, of the disintegration of all social ties, that must flow from the adoption of amorality as our guiding principle in international relations. The advocates of neutrality and isolation argue for the acceptance of international anarchy as the permanent condition of world affairs. We declare that the time has come when the continuation of civilization itself, in America as everywhere, depends upon world organization to enforce a minimum moral standard among nations.

The world organization of peace, like the organization of civil society itself, cannot begin by passing judgment upon all past crimes that arose from the prevailing anarchy, but it must begin by establishing certain standards which everyone must now live up to or find the world organized against them. These first primitive conditions for a world organization of peace have been established in the Kellogg pact. Any government which sends armed forces outside its own borders into the territory of another government without its consent, or which blockades the ports of another government, or furnishes arms and munitions to insurrectionists against another government, with or without a declaration of war, is guilty of violation of the Kellogg pact solemnly subscribed to by all the governments of the world, is guilty of aggression, is guilty of a crime against world peace, a crime which threatens the very existence of civilization. The foundations for a certain basic world order which will prevent war by making it unprofitable, has thus been laid. Mr. Libby and his friends would have us abandon this

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foundation. We propose American leadership in further building upon this foundation.

Those who would have us abandon moral standards between nations are not only helping to maintain world anarchy and contributing to the eventual triumph abroad of the fascist powers, but they are also leading us toward surrender to fascism within our own country. Our most ardent neutrality advocates, like Mr. Libby, draw the logical conclusion from their position when they denounce the boycott of Japanese goods as a warlike measure and demand that the boycott movement shall be disbanded in the interests of peace. They draw the logical conclusion when they demand that we shall stop all criticism of the crimes of Hitler and Mussolini. They draw the logical conclusion when they attack the supporters of Spain and China among the American people as the real warmakers and the real danger to the peace of America. But the further logical conclusion of this demand for moral neutrality in face of the crimes of the fascist warmakers is the break-down of all social and political morality within America itself. When Mr. Libby proclaims there is no democracy worth helping in other lands, he is thereby undermining and discrediting our own democracy in America and weakening it before its domestic enemies. When moral standards are abandoned in foreign relations, they will quickly decay and disappear in domestic relations, as has happened in the domestic life of Germany, Italy, and Japan. Our neutrality advocates have cynically abandoned moral standards. We appeal for the strengthening of moral standards.

Some of Mr. Libby's associates, whose collaboration he has gladly welcomed in joining the so-called Committee to Keep America Out of War, try to ridicule us, the members of the Communist Party, for our championship of international morality. Particularly, Norman Thomas, Jay Lovestone, Bertram Wolfe, accuse us that thereby we have abandoned the teachings of Marx and Lenin, have abandoned our revolutionary Communist principles. They, on their part, claim to uphold the teachings of Marx and Lenin by ridiculing moral standards between nations as a guiding principle. By this, however, they only expose their own hostility to the teachings of Marx and Lenin, their own renegacy from the revolutionary principles of Socialism. Against all such arguments allow me to quote to you somewhat extensively from the Inaugural Address to the First International written by Karl Marx in 1864. Dealing with the czarist conquest of the Caucasus, the suppression of the Polish uprising, and the Russo-Turkish war, current events of the day, Marx said:

> The shameless approval, mock sympathy, or idiotic indifference, with which the upper classes of Europe have witnessed the mountain fortress of the Caucasus falling a prey to, and heroic Poland being assassinated by, Russia, the immense and unresisted encroachments of that barbarous power, whose head is at St. Petersburg, and whose hands are in every cabinet of Europe, have taught the working classes the duty to master for themselves the mysteries of international politics; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective governments; to counteract them, if necessary, by all means in their power; when unable to prevent, to combine in simultaneous denunciations, and *to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations.* The fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working classes.

Here, in the very words of Marx, we have formulated the precise description of the policy we urge upon the United States today. We propose nothing else than that the United States shall establish as the guiding principle of its foreign policy "to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations." Marx himself tells us that the fight for such a foreign policy forms part of that general struggle for the emancipation of the working class. This is just as profoundly true today as it was when Marx first wrote it in 1864.

Mr. Libby and most of his associates deny there is any relationship between alignments on foreign policy and those on domestic issues. But we cannot accept this shallow separation of the two. We admit quite readily, of course, the continued existence of great confusion among the masses and among some of their leaders, but we believe this confusion is being rapidly dispelled. Just as in the domestic political issues of our country, so also on foreign policy, we find the growth of two new political camps which cut across old party lines, one the camp of progress and democracy, the other the camp of reaction and fascism. The camp of reaction and fascism in our domestic life is the main force behind the policy of neutrality and isolation. The camp of progress and democracy is the main force behind the policy of concerted action under American leadership to restrain the fascist warmaking governments. When Mr. Libby called upon his followers recently to rejoice, because, as he expressed it, "Hoover resumes leadership in international affairs," and joyously reported Hoover's return from a visit with Hitler and his complete rejection of the theory of concerted efforts against aggressor states, we have a right and a duty to ask what this means in the domestic life of our country. When Mr. Libby advises us to listen to Boake Carter for our radio interpretation of the news, when he asks us to agree with William Randolph Hearst's editorials on foreign affairs, when he asks us to get inspiration from Father Coughlin's radio sermons—all in the interest of peace—we have the right and the duty to ask him what kind of company is he getting us into, what will be the effect of this kind of leadership on the daily life of our country? It is a fact that all the most sinister powers in America, monopoly capital, Wall Street, the sixty families, and all their most loyal agents, are fighting on the side represented by my opponent this evening and against any action to curb the bandit fascist governments.

On the other hand we have the following significant alignment of forces on the side which I am defending tonight:

Organized labor, both of the American Federation of Labor and the Committee for Industrial Organization, overwhelmingly support President Roosevelt's Chicago call for quarantining the aggressor, as well as the O'Connell Peace Bill. Most of the articulate intellectual circles, university professors, students, writers, are, in great majority, supporting the O'Connell Bill for concerted action against the aggressors. Church organizations, outside of the Catholic hierarchy, are at least three-fourths on the same side. The political forces aligned with the New Deal are almost unanimously in its favor. The great student-strike movement on April 27 marched at least 90 percent under the banner of lifting the embargo against Spain and the adoption of the O'Connell Peace Bill. In a recent gathering of peace advocates called in Washington, with the participation of Mr. Libby himself, with the objective of turning attention away from concerted action and toward abstract problems of world economics, a revolt among the guests against the program of the leadership of that conference disclosed the majority on the side of concerted action to restrain the fascist warmakers. During the past six months the progressive majority of the American people have decisively broken away from the false neutrality policy. They are emphatically supplementing their progressive and democratic platform in domestic affairs with a progressive and democratic foreign policy, the policy of quarantining the aggressors. At the same time all the forces of reaction are gathering for a desperate last-stand fight to maintain the old, bankrupt neutrality-policy.

There are, of course, still some examples of confusion and a crossing of lines of the two main camps on the question of foreign relations. Outstanding of these is the alignment of La Follette and a few congressional progressives with the neutrality bloc. These people are the constitutionally unbranded, unpredictable, and, even in domestic policies, not consistently progressive; at the present moment they are engaged in some fantastic speculations on a possible political realignment which would bring them into one camp with the Republican Party of Hoover and Hamilton. Henry L. Stimson and a few other outstanding figures of former days in the reactionary camp come out for concerted action against the warmakers, but these exceptions only emphasize the rule.

The fascist bloc of warmaking powers operates under the flag

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of the anti-Communist alliance. The neutrality bloc within America agrees with the slogan of Hitler that the menace of Communism and of the Communists is what is endangering the peace of the world. Because the American people are so overwhelmingly against fascism, our own domestic anti-Communist alliance says it is against fascism and Communism, but in all their arguments and in their practical activities we find the menace of fascism figures very little, if at all, and their main concern is to fight Communism. And who are the Communists? The anti-Communist alliance certainly is not primarily concerned with my small party. Their definition of Communism is so broad that it includes the New Deal and President Roosevelt himself, especially it includes the policy of quarantining the warmaking governments. The anti-Communist slogan in America has exactly the same significance as Hitler's use of this same slogan to establish his bloody dictatorship over the German people. It has exactly the same significance as the same cry against the Spanish republic. It is preparation for the fascist destruction of democracy and the republic also in America.

Allow me at this point to repeat once more our answer to the slanderous charges that Communists are enemies of democracy. We have declared and we here repeat: The Communist Party opposes with all its power, and will help to crush by all proper democratic means, any clique, group, circle, faction, or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken, or overthrow, any or all institutions of American democracy whereby the majority of the American people have obtained power to determine, in any degree, their own destiny. We stand 100 percent, under all circumstances, for the power of the majority of the people to control the destinies of the country. We will fight with all our power, offering our lives if necessary, to defeat any and every effort, whether it comes from within or without our country, to impose over the American people and nation the will of any selfish minority, group, party, clique, or conspiracy.

Allow me to ask everyone who makes the old charges against the Communists if they are willing to pledge themselves to the unconditional support of democracy as clearly and unequivocally as we do.

The organization for which Mr. Libby speaks has declared officially that it "does not coöperate with Communists or fascists." I do not question that this prohibition against coöperation with fascists is applied to the open, self-labeled fascist groups in America. But these are not the most dangerous expressions of fascism in our country. Hitler also spoke against fascism when he was fighting for power; he operated under the slogan of Socialism; he called his party the *National Socialist Party*. We must not be surprised that American fascism is taking on the banners of democracy and even of labor. Who can forget our famous "Liberty League," even though the du Ponts would like to have us forget it. And with these, the most dangerous, fascists who sail under the flag of liberty like Hitler did under the flag of Socialism, are precisely the most powerful and welcome supporters of Mr. Libby's viewpoint. Must I mention any names other than those of Hamilton Fish, Father Coughlin, and William Randolph Hearst to substantiate this charge?

Mr. Libby's organization does not coöperate with Communists, they say. Surely they do not coöperate with the Communist Party, for on the question of the road to peace we stand in opposite camps; but when they can find anyone who calls himself Communist, but who at the same time supports neutrality and isolation then we find Mr. Libby and his organization are quite ready for the closest collaboration. Mr. Libby is a member of the Committee to Keep America Out of War. This body was launched at a meeting in the Hippodrome, New York, on March 9, in which Mr. Libby sat on the platform. Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, the meeting's chairman, praised one of the speakers, Mr. Bertram D. Wolfe, as "the tireless organizer" of the whole affair. Mr. Wolfe calls himself a Communist. He made a speech at that meeting, in which he declared that in case of war between the United States and Japan he proposed to work for the defeat of the United States. Not Mr. Libby nor any of his associates on that platform repudiated that slogan at the meeting or since, and they continue to work together in close alliance. Mr. Libby may reply that Mr. Wolfe is not really a Communist at all. That is absolutely true, and we would like to emphasize this to the whole world. Mr. Wolfe has for years, however, maintained close connections with the Bukharin group in the Soviet Union, the leaders of which a few weeks ago were executed for applying in the most practical way in that country the slogan that Mr. Wolfe put forth for America, the defeat of our own country in a possible war with Japan. Is it too much to ask Mr. Libby if he agrees to collaborate with people who call themselves Communists only provided they stand for the defeat of the United States in case of a war with Japan? Or does he agree to collaborate with that kind of self-styled Communist only because he knows they are not Communists at all but sail under a false flag? And may we ask what Mr. Libby thinks about this use of the slogan for the defeat of our government when faced with a fascist power, when this slogan is put forth from the same platform on which he sits, under the auspices of an organization of which he is a leading member? We, on our part, are prepared to answer this question with full sharpness. We consider Mr. Bertram D. Wolfe no better than an under-cover agent for Japanese imperialism. We declare that if, in spite of all our efforts for peace, Mr. Libby's policy should prevail and therefore war should in fact occur between Japan and the United States, then we consider that the interest of world progress, of peace, of democracy, of the independence of China's four-hundred millions, of the future of America, and of the Japanese people itself, all joined to demand the defeat of Japan's militarist government in such a war, and we would make that defeat a major guiding consideration of our whole policy under present world relationships.

The greatest danger to the peace of the whole world is the retreat of the peace-seeking nations before the fascist offensive. The fascist menace has grown on its easy victories. If this course is not stopped, the fascist war aggression will soon be on American soil itself. This is apparent to anyone with the slightest knowledge of the course of world affairs since 1931. Yet, the neutrality bloc and not least its spokesman, Mr. Libby, find their only hope of world peace in continued retreats and surrenders to the fascist powers.

Within the past few weeks Mr. Libby's official organ, a publication called *Peace Action*, often under Mr. Libby's signature, has expressed an attitude toward current events which is identical with Chamberlain in London and leads in the same direction of coming to agreement with fascism on its own terms. With regard to Austria they expressed "relief to have this inevitable union over with" and concluded that "it will be a step towards stability." They are satisfied that "The future of Spain is apparently in process of solution . . . in the discussions between Chamberlain and Mussolini." They are hopeful that Czechoslovakia "will now sever itself from Russia and develop its ties with Germany." They declare that "Danzig belongs to Germany and will return to Germany." They express the hope that Germany and Poland, while settling the corridor problem, will also decide without disagreement the fate of Memel and, presumably, also of Lithuania. They say "these changes . . . should have been made years ago." They urge the United States to follow in the Far East the same disgraceful course Chamberlain has followed in the Mediterranean, toward Hitler, and toward Spain. They speak apologetically of Franco's bombardments of Barcelona, against which they are unable to arouse any indignation whatever, not even as much as the Pope who blesses Franco. In judging the effects of Franco's recent military successes in Spain they cannot see in this any new menace to European peace; on the contrary, they conclude, "Europe is much nearer peace today than it was a month ago." These are quotations from the current issues of *Peace Action*, edited by Mr. Libby. In not one single issue of that paper, not one single article, not a paragraph, not a sentence, can be found a word in condemnation of Hitler, Mussolini, or the Mikado, as the violators of world peace. And all

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of this, which clearly represents the path of surrender to the warmakers and to fascism, is presented as "peace action." Such is the conclusion to which neutrality will bring all its adherents if they do not break once and for all with that bankrupt policy.

Those for whom I speak, and on this I am sure I speak the mind of the majority of the American people, see in every victory of the fascist warmakers a darker gathering of clouds of war over the world, including America. We declare Chamberlain's criminal sellout has stimulated every reactionary and warmaking force. We see in the conquest of Austria a knife in the back of the Czechoslovakian republic, the last oasis of democracy in central Europe, which can stand only by unity with Franco and the Soviet Union. We find Spain's contribution to world peace in the heroic republican forces that brought Franco's foreign armies to a halt. We find the hope of the Far East is China's magnificent national unity and military successes against the Japanese. In short, we see every one of the questions from the exactly opposite viewpoint of Hitler, Mussolini, and the Mikado, and therefore from the exactly opposite viewpoint of my opponent of this evening and of his associates. They see peace only in the victory of the fascist dictators; we see peace only in the defeat and destruction of fascism. That is why my opponent wants the United States to continue helping the fascist dictators; that is why we demand that the United States shall take the lead in concerted efforts to halt them.

Would a courageous initiative by the United States against the warmakers receive enough support in the world to defeat them? Yes, we would have overwhelming support if we displayed a firm policy. It is certain the Soviet Union would wholeheartedly support such a policy. We would end the hesitations of the French government and its dependence upon Britain. We would encourage British democracy to throw over the cynical Chamberlain. America alone could change the whole course of world affairs by our moral and economic influence. We could ensure the victory of the Spanish republic, which was almost at the point of victory several times while American influence was thrown the other way. We could ensure the victory of China, which, without our help, is already bringing Japan to the verge of collapse. The defeat of the warmakers in these two areas would shatter the myth of their inevitable victory, would release the democratic aspirations of their own people, who would quickly abolish their defeated dictators. And we could do all that without the slightest danger of involving the United States in war. Failure to do this will create for us the danger of war. The United States enjoyed for a time a privileged position. This makes it our inescapable responsibility to use this position to help organize the peace of a world in which no other land is so fortunately situated. If we delay too long, our immunity will quickly disappear in a world made victim to fascist aggression, conquest, and destruction. By acting now against the warmakers of the world, we *can* keep America out of war.

Radio Broadcast

It had been intended to broadcast after both speakers had made their opening statements, but the exigencies of the radio schedule made it necessary to move the time forward. The broadcast was over the WMCA network, covering the Middle Atlantic region.—The Editors.

I

Question by Frederick J. Libby: Mr. Browder, just before you finished expounding your theory of peace and democracy, you admitted that it may get us into war with Japan, whereupon you burst out with the astounding admission that the defeat of Japan in such a war should be "a major guiding consideration for our whole policy." If this means anything—and I feel sure it must—does it not mean that you favor preparing for the defeat of Japan now with a super-super-navy and super-super-battleships?

Answer by Earl Browder: No, Mr. Libby, I indicated the possibility that your policy might get us into war with Japan after all, in case my policy is defeated. I feel confident, however, that your policy will be abandoned by America, that therefore there is little likelihood of a war between Japan and the United States. I am opposed to the proposals for a great increase in the United States Navy, all the arguments for which are based upon isolationism as a substitute for concerted action against the warmakers.

II

Question by Earl Browder: Mr. Libby, do you consider that the peace of the world in general, and the peace of the United States in particular, will be best served by a victory of the Japanese invasion of China, of Hitler's and Mussolini's invasion of Spain, of Hitler's ambitions to gobble up Czechoslovakia, or will these interests be best served by the defeat of the three warmaking governments? And should the United States allow its resources to be utilized for either one of these ends, which do you consider least favorable to American and world peace?

Answer by Frederick J. Libby: The settlement of the wars of Europe and Asia, Mr. Browder, is not the business of the United States. If the United States refuses its resources to one side in a quarrel and furnishes its resources to the other side, it is in that war. Under no conditions whatever should the United States allow itself to be drawn into the wars of Asia or of Europe. If our government allows us to be sucked into another foreign war for democracy or, as you would say, to "promote peace," our own country will be ruined, and we shall go fascist and stay fascist for a long, long while. This, I, at least, would regard as a supreme disaster. Americans should be far more concerned about preserving their own democracy than trying to force democracy on the nations of Europe by overthrowing their dictatorships.

As for the permanent peace of Asia, it will be best served by an Asiatic settlement of an Asiatic dispute. In the long run, the people of China will win the war in China and the people of Spain will win the war in Spain. The policy for our nation is strict neutrality.

III

Question by Frederick J. Libby: Now, Mr. Browder, if our government plunges our nation into another foreign war, is it your judgment that this war will fix a fascist dictatorship upon us, not merely for the period of the war as projected in the war-dictatorship bill, known as the May Bill, but for an indefinite period after the war in the effort to prevent vast unemployment, revolution, and Communism, and would you welcome such a fascist era as the road to ultimate Communism?

Answer by Earl Browder: I am sure that if we allow the world to drift into a general war this will create additional dangers to American democracy as indicated in the various projects of the War Department that envisage war. It is precisely because I want to avoid the dangers that I advocate American leadership in organizing the world to stop the warmaking fascist governments. A fascist era is not the road to ultimate Communism. All fascist victories are the destruction of all civilization.

IV

Question by Earl Browder: You have declared, Mr. Libby, that your organization refuses to coöperate with Communists and fascists. Can you explain to us, therefore, why you coöperate with people who call themselves Communists but who from the same platform with you declare that if the United States should ever get into war with Japan, they would work for the defeat of the United States? Do you think that this kind of advocacy in America is in the interest of peace? Is it not rather true that this is a direct encouragement to Japan to make war against the United States?

Answer by Frederick J. Libby: You are correct, Mr. Browder, in saying that the National Council for Prevention of War refuses to coöperate with either Communists or fascists. You have made a great point in your speech tonight of what you understand a former associate of yours to have said at a Keep America

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Out of War meeting in New York, where I sat on the platform. The man in question has given me a stenographic report of his remarks which proves conclusively that he did not say what you suppose him to have said. In any case, I must refuse to accept any responsibility for the remarks of other people. As for such a remark encouraging Japan to make war against the United States, Japan has bitten off more than she can chew in China, has Russia as a potential enemy close by, and has no intention of attacking the most powerful nation in the world during any period that can be foreseen.

V

QUESTION BY FREDERICK J. LIBBY: Mr. Browder, you have advocated our government's taking on single-handed Germany, Italy, and Japan all at once and stopping our trade with all three while insisting on selling to their enemies or "victims." Doesn't this seem to you to be a pretty large order? How effective will our unilateral embargo be in "stopping" the three aggressors? And how long will their enemies get their wants supplied without interference? If our embargo should become effective eventually, why will not the fascist states take from weaker nations what they need? And so to war!

ANSWER BY EARL BROWDER: You yourself, Mr. Libby, spent ten minutes this evening proving to us that it is impossible for the fascist governments to invade the United States, that America cannot become involved in war unless we ourselves decide to go abroad for it. The withholding of all American economic help from the warmakers will be very effective in stopping the aggressors, and if America with half the wealth of the world takes the lead in organizing peace then we will secure a great deal of coöperation from other countries. Certainly the fascist states will seize from the weaker nations what they need just so long as they can get away with it. You are proposing that we help them get away with it. I am proposing that we stop that help and give a little consideration to the weaker nations.

VI

QUESTION BY EARL BROWDER: You recently, Mr. Libby, expressed your pleasure at the news that "Hoover resumes leadership in international affairs." It is also true that Father Coughlin and William Randolph Hearst are in substantial agreement with you on foreign policy. Do you agree with these reactionaries also on domestic policies, or do you maintain that you can be a progressive in domestic policy and a reactionary in foreign policy or vice versa? In short, do you see any connection between foreign policies and the alignment between the reactionaries and progressives on domestic problems?

ANSWER BY FREDERICK J. LIBBY: I deny emphatically, Mr. Browder, that Father Coughlin and Mr. Hearst are in substantial agreement with me on foreign policy since both are isolationists and I am not. Mr. Hearst continually opposes the policy which I advocate as essential to world peace: the lowering of tariff barriers. He and Father Coughlin collaborated to prevent America's adherence to the World Court. If they at the same time oppose an alliance with Great Britain, France, and Russia against the fascist states, I am glad that they are right on so fundamental a policy.

As for the alignment of what you call the reactionaries with regard to foreign policy, Mr. Browder, you are fooling yourself. The very reactionaries who oppose the President's domestic policies stand with him and with you 100 percent on the policies of the Chicago speech. You have been the spokesman tonight, Mr. Browder, and not I, for President Roosevelt's "sixty families" and the Liberty League.

The Chairman

I HAVE the honor and pleasure of introducing Mr. Frederick J. Libby, executive secretary of the National Council for Prevention of War.

Mr. Libby

MR. CHAIRMAN, MR. BROWDER, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I am glad to be given the opportunity of debating here this great issue with the general secretary of the Communist Party, Mr. Browder, for two reasons:

In the first place, Mr. Browder and the party which he ably leads have been more aggressive and tireless probably than any other group in the country in campaigning for the policy which he has here supported and which we of the National Council for Prevention of War and the other organizations of the neutrality bloc and the Keep America Out of War Committee with equal vigor oppose.

In the second place, the National Council for Prevention of War takes the position publicly that it "does not coöperate with Communists or fascists," and it is only fair that I should tell this audience why. One reason is the differences between us in policy and objective. We cherish the confident hope that the United States will not go Communist or fascist but will adhere to constitutional democracy and to democratic processes as offering adequate methods of peaceful change without violence. But there is also the fact that certain great farm organizations, churches, women's organizations, and labor unions with which we coöperate oppose strongly both Communism and fascism. Determined to create the strongest front we can against war, we believe that we find that strongest possible front for the United States by working independently of the Communist and fascist organizations. It is not our wish to prevent any group from working for peace in its own way.

May I make one further explanation? I happen personally to be a Quaker and a pacifist. The National Council for Prevention of War is not pacifist. Our official policy is adopted democratically in annual convention. On the point of national defense our position is, "a national defense policy based on defense of our soil from invasion, not defense of our interests abroad." It is, of course, our official policy that I am supporting here tonight.

"Should the United States government join in concerted action against the fascist states?" I agree with Mr. Browder that this is the greatest question before our people today. Moreover, it is still before the American people despite having apparently been sidetracked by the decision of the British and French governments to negotiate a settlement with Italy and Germany. A truce in Europe's age-old struggle for power may be achieved now but the British and the American rearmament programs go forward relentlessly. We shall probably hear no more from our government until our November elections are over about either "concerted action" or "parallel action." To run for Congress on this slogan would defeat a candidate probably anywhere. But the vast and parallel arms-program of Great Britain and the United States would seem to permit but one interpretation: ultimate world domination by the Anglo-Saxon peoples. By and by the United States and the British empire will be ready, if these programs should continue, to exert "concerted action," with the aid of such other states as may choose to join us, against the fascist states or the Communist state or any other state or combination of states that may challenge our power. Just as long as the present arms race continues, led, as it is being led, by the United States and Great Britain, the question we are here debating will continue to be the great issue before our people, but in this form: *Shall* the United States government join in concerted action against the fascist *or any other rivals?* Shall the Anglo-Saxon peoples rule and "police" the world?

The true issue between Mr. Browder and myself is not cluttered up tonight with what I would call deceptive propaganda, such as has obscured the question too frequently in recent months. The choice before our country is definitely not between "isolation" and "collective security." There is no such thing as "isolation." There is no such thing as "collective security." Let us clear away this rubbish as our first step toward clear thinking on the subject.

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Few indeed, except the Hearsts and Macfaddens, talk for "isolation." In an interdependent world like this, isolation is literally inconceivable. Our automobiles would laugh in the face of an isolationist. It takes eighteen countries to produce them. The food on our breakfast tables would choke him, for it is gathered from the ends of the earth. Our hats and our shoes and our clothing are made possible by products that come from overseas. The very wood-pulp on which Mr. Hearst appeals for extreme economic isolation comes from Canada, while the stamping machine used by British nationalists for stamping "Buy British" on their output is made in the United States.

Not a state, not even an inland city in our whole country, can prosper without our foreign markets. Isolate us even temporarily, as we shall see when we consider our neutrality policy, and everybody will suffer. Forevermore the world will be the economic unit and we all must deal with it as such. "Isolation," if ever there was any, is a closed chapter.

But neither is there "collective security," although for a different reason. "Collective security" has never been born. President Wilson dreamed a great dream in which collective security was to follow from certain policies on the part of the nations that were never carried out. War had been man's only method of changing boundaries and other fundamental conditions deemed intolerable by groups of people. The new charter of world peace, the Covenant of the League of Nations, provided, therefore, a substitute for war. It was contained in the famous Article XIX under which, when filled in, the dissatisfied were to be able to avail themselves of methods of peaceful change to whatever extent might be found necessary. Article XIX was to be the world's safety valve.

The same charter contained a provision for world disarmament. It was Article VIII in the Covenant. A similar provision was written also into the Treaty of Versailles. Since Germany was disarmed, the rest of the world could and would disarm also.

These two provisions were essential to collective security. Mr. Wilson knew his history. If war was to be abolished, there must be provided a substitute for the war method. There must also be universal disarmament for many reasons, one of which being that without it coercion of recalcitrant nations would bring resistance and war.

You know what happened to this dream. The World War victors were more concerned by far to retain their dominance in Europe than they were to achieve justice or world organization. Fear ruled French diplomacy—fear coupled with the love of power. Articles XIX and VIII were made a dead letter. So the collective system was from the outset made subservient to power politics, which has never, except in appearance, relaxed its grip on Europe. When, in 1931, China looked to the League for collective security, it was not there. When Ethiopia demanded it, it was not there. When last year China cried out again for the collective security promised in the sacred Covenant, it still was not there. Collective security is inconceivable in a fully armed world. Collective security is impossible in a world that takes no interest in justice.

So Mr. Browder and I are not debating "collective security" versus "isolation." We are discussing, instead, a living issue: "Should the United States government join in concerted action against the fascist states?" By the fascist states we mean Germany, Italy, and Japan.

What is meant by "concerted action"? We are not discussing a consumers' boycott, since the "action" is to be governmental. I might add in passing, however, that the argument I am about to use applies to the boycott also. Economic coercion, without war, or with war, "if necessary," is the prescription for "stopping" the dictators which has been urged upon the country with increasing importunity ever since President Roosevelt on October 5 of last year advocated it in his Chicago speech. This is to be the easy method of bringing the dictators to their knees and, it is hoped, without war! It will be well for us to examine this method first in application to Japan alone, without trying to follow through the consequences of tackling Germany and Italy at the same time, as the topic of our debate will require us to do before we finish. Can we by economic pressure, either alone or in concerted action with the other "democracies," stop Japan in China? And can we accomplish this without bringing on a general war?

In answer to the first question, the only tangible evidence which anybody has to offer is the effect of the boycott of Italy by fifty-two nations. What happened in that instance is a matter of history. Even the mild boycott that was attempted by this great phalanx of nations aroused the whole Italian people to support the Ethiopian war, toward which hitherto they had been lukewarm and even hostile. It was this boycott that brought Italian peasant women down from the hills to give Mussolini their wedding rings while they took iron rings home as badges of honor. If the world was against Italy, then they were Italians.

Why were only mild sanctions attempted? Why did not the British government stop the war by closing the Suez Canal or advocating an oil sanction? Let Mr. Anthony Eden answer, as he answered this question in the House of Commons: "There are two possible forms of sanctions: ineffective, which are not worth putting on; and effective, which mean a risk, if not a certainty, of war." The British government may have been mistaken in its estimate of the danger of precipitating a general European war if Mussolini was stopped short in Ethiopia, but it knew at least as much as you or I know.

Lord Cecil, probably the world's leading advocate of the sanction theory of peace, said to the National Peace Conference last November, "I should be less than candid if I did not grant that if you use economic sanctions, you must be ready and willing if necessary to use military sanctions. Personally, I do not believe that you will have to do so but you must be ready to do so. And I do not believe in bluffing."

The only experience the world has had, therefore, with the use of economic coercion as a method of stopping a dictator does not encourage a second experiment on this line. The Japanese government, like the Italian government, controls press and radio in Japan and will be the sole interpreter of what is going on to the Japanese people. One can confidently predict that an attempt at the economic subjugation of Japan would unite the nation, as it is not united today, solidly behind its army. In the second place, an effective boycott, if one were possible, would starve the babies of Japan and the aged, and probably without taking a cartridge from a Japanese soldier. When a nation is at war, as we learned in the case of blockaded Germany, the army gets what it requires and the civilians get what is left. (This applies with special force to the effect of a consumers' boycott.) Moreover, oil and other supplies to replace ours are within Japan's grasp. Dutch Borneo, for example, produces oil. A boycott would undoubtedly drive Japan to fresh depredations. This would be its third effect.

In the fourth place, the boycott would strengthen the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis. Italy has strong feelings against boycotts. Germany can hardly afford to let a boycott succeed. Nor should we forget that American business interests will be found that will by way of neutral nations sell to Japan what she wants and reap the profits. On this point the reports of the Nye Munitions Committee offer illuminating evidence.

Finally, and most important of all, to suppose that this method will prevent war is to ignore all the lessons of history. Not that Japan will attack the United States. Japan is completely occupied now with her own war in China, which is not going very well for her. Russia also hovers on her flank like a great storm cloud. To talk of Japan's attacking the United States during any period that can be foreseen is silly.

The danger of war would come from the psychological factors involved in our own country. Already our government is deliberately adding to the tension across the Pacific by its provocative naval maneuvers extending 2,500 miles west of Hawaii; by its proposal of a super-super-navy and super-super-battleships, and

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by its still more dangerous threat of establishing air bases on islands near Japan. An infallible test of whether nations are moving toward war or toward peace is the direction in which tensions are moving. When tensions are diminishing nations are moving toward peace. When tensions are increasing, nations are moving toward war. Our government is moving toward war with Japan. If now our people were to be incited to the point of attempting, either alone or in concerted action with other nations, to ruin and starve Japan until she capitulated ignominiously to our might, the state of popular feeling on both sides of the Pacific would quickly reach the fighting pitch. Then let a few more oil tankers and *Panays* be sunk, this time without friendly apologies and indemnities, and our country could, I believe, be sucked into war in Asia. Economic coercion, instead of preventing war, would have led to war.

I have spoken of this "concerted action" as perhaps to be undertaken by the "democracies." The prevailing war slogan is, "The democracies must unite against fascism." It would be profitable to analyze this slogan while we may. Who are these "democracies" that beckon us? They are the British empire, the French empire, and Russia, an imperialist-Communist bloc, now pitted against three other nations, Germany, Italy, and Japan, who are challenging their supremacy in Europe and the world.

Great Britain is a democracy, but the empire is not a democracy; and it is the empire that is arousing the envy of its aspiring rivals. The same is true of the French empire which includes a great part of Northern Africa and a slice of China, taken before Japan thought of imperial expansion. Russia is the third member of the combination, a Communist dictatorship in which only one party is permitted to exist. By my definition, this is no more a democracy than is fascist Germany. This slogan, like all war slogans, is false to the very core. Our government is being invited in reality to join in Europe's endless game of international poker, power politics, in which the chips of the players are the wealth and young manhood of nations. The President of the United States must not be allowed again to play this game which resulted so ruinously for our people last time, and with no benefit whatever to the rest of the world.

Mr. Browder's proposal differs in an important respect from this prevailing pattern. He proposes that the United States shall not wait for "concerted" action or act only against Japan. He wants our government to proceed alone and boycott Japan, Germany, and Italy, all at the same time, and, in addition, to aid actively their several victims, including presumably Ethiopia because of its past victimization, and Czechoslovakia because of what threatens, as well as China.

Here is Mr. Browder's own summary of his position: "We propose that the United States shall cut off all economic intercourse with those governments which violate the treaty outlawing war, and shall maintain and extend its economic relations with the governments which observe their treaty obligations and especially with those who are victims of aggression." Again, "If not a single major government joined ours, America alone could change the course of world affairs by her moral and economic influence . . . and without the slightest danger of involving the United States in war." Mr. Browder bases his faith in our escaping war solely on the fact that the United States cannot be attacked.

All that I have said hitherto regarding the folly of this highly academic theory of peace when jointly administered, applies with much greater force to unilateral action on the part of the United States. It would not stop the dictators, since they could and would get their supplies elsewhere; it would not overthrow the dictators but would establish them more firmly in power since they control the means of communication within their countries; it would stimulate fresh aggressions to the degree that the boycott became effective; and, for the psychological reasons to which I have alluded, it would lead our nation on the road straight to war, not with one nation but with three. The specious words under which Mr. Browder has concealed the true import of this fantastic proposal may deceive his followers. Columnists like Walter Lippmann and Heywood Broun and newspapers that get their cue from the New York *Times* have advocated what might turn out to be the same policy under cautious phrases like "United States leadership in world affairs." But they hope for an alliance at least with the British empire, for policing the world. This is what they seem to mean, and all they seem to mean, by their false and misleading slogan of "collective security." Even they, however, would not follow Mr. Browder in unilateral action by the United States to cure the ills of a very sick world.

It is true that the United States is the richest of the nations; that the British empire, the French empire, and Russia, with the United States, possess some four-fifths of the world's most important natural resources. We possess, and are controlling in our own interest, the greater part of the world's coal and iron and oil, its wheat and corn, its timber, its copper and tin, its gold and silver. We have built high walls around our treasures, tariff walls, currency walls, immigration walls. We buy the gold and silver as it is produced and bury it. We offer our natural resources for sale and then refuse in payment the goods which the poor nations bring as their only coin.

President Roosevelt has familiarized us all with his characterization of the irresponsible rich as "the economic royalists," the "sixty families," whose contentment with things as they are obstructs all efforts at peaceful progress toward a juster distribution and healthy increase of our national wealth. The "sixty families," "the economic royalists" among the nations, the irresponsible rich are undeniably the United States, the British empire, the French empire, and Soviet Russia, whose selfish use of their almost limitless wealth and power during these post-war years, and particularly since the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act, has been a major cause of the world's present serious plight.

The Versailles Treaty enabled the World War victors to prolong their dominance over Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria and they used the advantage that it gave them under cover of the League of Nations which they dominated also. They initiated this era of treaty breaking with their own violation of the terms of the Armistice on the basis of which Germany surrendered. The Fourteen Points of President Wilson will not be found embodied in the Treaty of Versailles, either in the letter or the spirit. The same sinners against international law violated their pledge to reduce their armaments, which they had written both into the League Covenant and the Versailles Treaty. When the Kellogg-Briand pact was circulated for signature, it was the British empire that nullified its legal value with the all-comprehensive reservation of "certain regions" in which war could be waged under the cloak of "self-defense." It is the members of the League that have broken the pledges to aid fellow members that are attacked. The division of the nations, therefore, into supporters of "orderly processes" and three "treaty-breakers" is hypocritical and a dangerous perversion of the facts. When governmental spokesmen begin to divide the nations into angels and devils, they themselves being among the angels and the nations they don't like being moral outcasts, those governmental spokesmen are leading their nations, consciously or unconsciously, on the road to war.

World peace must have as its foundation the sanctity of treaties. With this we all agree. But all treaties must be open to peaceful change. No status quo, however favorable it may be to certain nations or certain individuals, can be made for that reason permanent.

The advocates of economic coercion of Germany, Italy, and Japan are supporting a strange doctrine. What is the origin of Hitler's dictatorship in Germany? How did his party of six grow to seventeen million voters? Those who have watched this phenomenon can tell you how, under the Versailles Treaty, the struggling German republic, thwarted by the conquerors while being bled white under the reparations clauses, saw its youths by the millions grow to manhood without hope of a job. They sat around in their kitchens year after year after year, hopeless and

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desperate. Then they joined the Communists or followed Hitler. Hosts of little businessmen gradually starved; then they followed Hitler. Hunger and despair elected Hitler.

It is now proposed to intensify this hunger and despair, not in one nation only but in three, as the road to peace! The rich nations, or the richest of all, our own, acting alone, shall cut off all access to our resources from Germany, Italy, and Japan, whose aspirations for places in the sun beside us are disturbing in our comfortable estate. It is proposed that we crush these upstarts. Some seem to believe that they will starve peacefully and sink back humbly into the poverty and impotence from which they are trying to emerge.

The United States Steel Corp. did not so interpret the aspiration for better living conditions which animated the rising labor movement in our country. Whether you like it or not, the situations are closely parallel, Hitler being merely an expression of an upsurge of the "have-not" peoples of the world to better themselves and ultimately to share, peacefully if possible, the wealth of the "haves." It is natural that the first reaction of the possessing nations should be to fear and resist this rising tide. A wiser policy will be to face the facts without shrinking and to set up now the agencies of peaceful change that will be the adequate alternative to war.

For war, by which I mean the resort to the war method, has become the supreme enemy of mankind. Just follow through a war with Japan, such as the advocates of concerted action ask us to risk. Military experts tell us that it would be an extremely difficult war to wage and a difficult war to win. It would necessarily be fought mainly if not entirely on Japan's side of the Pacific Ocean. Without going into the technical details to explain the almost insuperable problem of landing troops for the conquest of Japan and the neighboring portion of Asia, suffice it here to say that official estimates are that it would last five years or more; that it would cost us from forty to fifty billion dollars and an incalculable number of lives; and that victory, in the sense that Japan is trying to win a decision now in China, might not even then be won.

But assume for the sake of argument that we did win the war ultimately, both in the islands of Japan and on the adjacent continent. Our boys would want to come home when the war was over. We have no desire to annex any part of Asia with its vast poverty and age-old problems. When they came home, what improvement would they have made in the condition of the lands that they had conquered? They would leave behind them a land wasted and desolate, facing starvation and chaos. Whether Communism or fascism would be their lot would be of little moment. Probably Communism from Russia would sweep over Asia; but with nothing but misery to share.

To what conditions in America would our boys return? What system of government would they find here? The War Department's Mobilization Plan, of which the Hill-Sheppard Bill and its equally fascist successor, the May Bill, are significant expressions, is our answer. Our War Department has planned it all out for us. With the outbreak of any major war we go fascist. A totalitarian organization of the entire nation under a war dictator is to be our portion, with everybody in the army, from the farmer on his farm and the worker and manager alike in the factory, to the preacher in his pulpit. What is more, our War Department looks realistically beyond the period of the war and plans for the depression that will follow war. When the soldiers have been discharged from the army and the workers from the munition factories, when the bottom has dropped out of the world and when our dollar has lost its value as the German mark did after the World War, then our choice will be, or rather, the choice before our dictator will be, whether to let the nation sink down into a vast depression and chaos or to continue the control indefinitely to which we shall have become accustomed. Most well-informed men believe that the fascism of the war will remain as the fascism of the peace.

Our boys may have gaily gone to war to rid the world of fascism and promote democracy and peace. They will have died to fix chaos or Communism on Asia and fascism on the United States. The futility of the war method of stopping dictators or promoting democracy or any other spiritual value ought by this time, with the World War and the present wars going on in Spain and China as our object lessons, to have sunk into our souls. Under no circumstances whatever has our government the right to involve us in another foreign war, whether in Asia or in Europe.

Not for the "rights" of American investors in China. We fought the futile War of 1812 and the World War for these so-called "rights." Dollar diplomacy is out of date, and we should be done with imperialism.

Not for the British empire, whose imperial interests in the Orient certain of our columnists would have us defend by a naval alliance. Such an alliance, whether openly proclaimed or maintained under the form of "parallel action," is not in the interest either of the American people or of human progress.

Not for "orderly processes." A war in behalf of "orderly processes" would be indeed ironical. Order will not be brought into the world by the supreme disorder of war. War destroys the very foundation of international coöperation—it destroys its spirit. The last "war to end war" has made peace impossible in Europe for the past twenty years. Never again should our people be deceived into supporting the theory that peace can be created by war.

And not to destroy fascism. Modern war is fascism. Ends and means must be cut from the same piece of cloth. The whole military system is fundamentally anti-democratic. As a New York minister said not long ago, "If you take a devilish means to find God, when you arrive at your destination you will find the devil sitting there."

Do we in the National Council for Prevention of War advocate "peace at any price"? We advocate peace at any price from other people's wars. Accepting the maintenance of military and naval forces for defensive purposes of sufficient strength to defend the United States as bounded by a line running from the Aleutian Islands through the Hawaiian Islands and Panama to Eastport, Maine, we join with, we believe, a vast majority of the American people in demanding that our government abandon its yearnings to join with the British empire, in "policing" the world, to abandon the selfish imperialism that is concealed under this spuriously noble ambition, and to recognize that in future the American people want to vote on the foreign wars that they are asked to die in and to pay for.

The best informed military experts agree that our country cannot be successfully attacked. Just as it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for us successfully to attack Japan and land troops there for its conquest, so is it even more difficult and probably quite impossible for Japan or any other nation or combination of nations, during any period that can be foreseen, to make a successful attack upon the United States. Admiral Leahy admitted recently in the House Naval Affairs Committee hearings that even with the proposed super-navy we would not have sufficient superiority to attack Japan but would have to build at least three times as many ships. Then, conversely, Japan's navy would have to be expanded to two or three times ours before she could risk a naval engagement on our side of the ocean. Then she would have to face the unsolved problem of landing troops on a hostile shore; establishing bases in Mexico or Canada would undoubtedly be dealt with by our army, regardless of treaties, as a hostile act. The shipping necessary for transporting an army of even 500,000 men with full supplies across the ocean to make such an attack upon the United States is not possessed by the three fascist nations, all put together.

This important fact having been clarified, we face next the question whether we can keep out of the wars of Europe and of Asia if we take reasonable precautions. We have the authority of our present ambassadors to Great Britain and Germany and of our former president, Herbert Hoover, to the effect that we

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definitely can. Norway and Sweden have not had a war for more than a hundred years. They stayed out of the World War for four-and-a-half years. So did little Denmark and Holland, with a war raging in their front and back yards. So did Switzerland. What is more, they are all making preparations and plans to stay out of the next war. So is Belgium. So is Poland. And so is Great Britain unless her vital interests are involved. It was Anthony Eden and not Neville Chamberlain who announced this fact in the House of Commons to the world.

When the nations of Europe are planning to remain neutral if war breaks out on their continent, why do the advocates of "concerted action" in our country preach a fatalistic doctrine that regards our involvement as "inevitable"? Even Canada intends to stay out of a European war if possible, whether Great Britain stays out or not, so Sir Herbert Marler told the Canadian Club of New York last fall. "Canada does not maintain that she can prevent war," he said. "She does intend if possible to avoid war."

What are the precautions that we must take to stay out? Briefly they are: (1) maintain and strengthen our neutrality law and elect an administration that will obey it; (2) pass the La Follette or some tighter war-referendum bill and add the war referendum to the Constitution of the United States; (3) establish a line in the Mid-Pacific beyond which our navy would have no responsibility, its recognized business being the defense of our soil from invasion; (4) set up an advisory commission for the State Department *now* to plan the steps necessary to maintain our neutrality in any war that may break out anywhere. The War Department has its War College planning with it how to win a war. Is it not high time that our State Department took the peace of the United States seriously and made its plans in advance for winning the peace?

This peace college or advisory commission to the State Department would consider such subjects as the treatment of secondary war-materials like oil and cotton; plans for rerouting our foreign trade and for subsidizing industries and workers temporarily put out of business by the war; plans for adequate relief-works to avert a depression; careful watch over our international bankers to prevent the repetition of such loans as preceded our involvement in the World War; and not least in importance, the protection of our sources of information from war propaganda, whether foreign or domestic, calculated to undermine our anti-war sentiment and suck us into the war.

By such means as these the United States can unquestionably remain aloof from the wars of other continents, "an area of peace and sanity in a war-mad world," with resources ready for the reconstruction of war-torn countries when the flames have burnt out. Wars, like fires, must henceforth be localized as far as possible. Despite the hypocrisy that has accompanied the attempt to confine the Spanish war to Spain, nevertheless by common consent even this poor first effort at isolating a war has been universally recognized as preferable to permitting it to spread into a world war.

But isn't it "selfish" and "immoral" for the United States to refuse to go to war for China and Ethiopia and Czechoslovakia and Lithuania and all the subject peoples of Africa and so on? So insidious has been the argument from analogy in the war propaganda in recent months that many people have come to regard taking a nation to war as parallel with hitting a bully on the nose. The argument from analogy is always dangerous and, in this case, is silly. As my distinguished colleague, Jeannette Rankin, is wont to say: "Do I want to help China? Of course, I want to help China. But I am not going to throw myself out of a seventeenth-story window to help China. It wouldn't help China."

Since the argument for "concerted" economic coercion or unilateral coercion on the part of the United States alone against Japan, Germany, and Italy cannot stand up before the bar of American public opinion if it is going to prove futile in stopping or overthrowing the dictators and if it is going to involve a grave risk and, in my judgment, the absolute certainty, of dragging the United States into another foreign war and consequent fascism, I have devoted my main argument to proving both its futility and its threat to our institutions, including our democracy. In the time that remains I want briefly, but as effectively as possible, to sketch in the rest of the picture. Neutrality is not enough. We must and can maintain our neutrality as between the imperialist-Communist bloc and the fascist bloc. To join either of these combinations, under any pretense of being altruistic, would be of no benefit to the world and of incalculable injury to the United States.

America's responsibility for leadership as the richest of the nations lies in another field than economic coercion and its concomitant, war. Our country, as the nation that started the economic warfare now raging by passing the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act, should lead the world now in the removal of the causes of war. It is significant that Mr. Hoover, in whose administration the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act was passed against the protest of more than thirty nations as well as more than one thousand American economists, returned recently from talking with the two hundred men that are making Europe's history to advise us, as Secretary Hull constantly does, that we must lower our tariffs, stabilize currencies, remove exchange controls and quotas, and promote world trade as our immediate, positive contribution to world peace. Nor did Mr. Hoover exclude, as the advocates of "concerted action" against the fascist states would have us do, the dictatorships from the benefits of this peace program. "We must make peace with the dictatorships as well as with the democracies," said Mr. Hoover. In fact, it is with the countries which in their desperation have followed dictators that this program of economic appeasement is particularly important. Hunger and despair elected Hitler. Only the removal of the causes of his power will make him unnecessary. The people of Europe, like ourselves, want peace and security, security for their homes, security for their jobs, security for their old age. Bitter men are dangerous men. To remove the causes of their bitterness is not, as some would say, to "cater" to them nor to "bow the knee" to them. It is simply to be decent and just.

The fearful will argue, however, that we shall be arming the fascist states to fight us. We must take this risk. A similar argument is heard among Mid-Victorian employers of labor: "Give in to organized labor and it will use your concessions in order to get more." The fact is, we have entered upon an era of change in human relationships and in the division of power between groups and nations. It will be either a bloody era of war and revolution in which our civilization would probably crumble into dust, or it will be a period of bloodless, if tumultuous, progress toward a juster division of power and a more equitable distribution of the world's wealth, of which there is enough for all. To improve living standards here and abroad by making access to the world's natural resources easier for all peoples is to remove one of the potent causes of war. It is not "immoral" to refuse to participate in other people's suicidal wars, but it is profoundly immoral to build high walls around the wealth of the world and use it irresponsibly and for selfish ends. World peace cannot be built on hunger and despair anywhere. Contented peoples, on the other hand, do not want war.

Ultimately—and by that I mean as soon as public opinion can be made ready for it—we must organize our world. At this point, by and by those who dream now of "collective security" and those of us who emphasize the necessity of keeping America out of war will doubtless come together. We all believe that permanent peace cannot be achieved amid international anarchy. We also agree that permanent peace can rest only on justice or at least the hope of justice. That there must be in the new world-organization ample provision for peaceful revision of treaties—in other words, an adequate filling in of "Article XIX" of the new world Covenant, is also accepted by all. We differ primarily, I think, on the relative emphasis to be placed during the period immediately confronting us on the two factors, justice and coercion. Without

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attempting here to settle that question in the abstract, I want to say merely that I regard the steps that are being taken by Neville Chamberlain as definitely lessening the tensions in Europe and therefore as steps toward peace. The Versailles Treaty set up an artificial division of power in Europe that was maintained by force and nothing but force. No provision was made for altering this artificial condition by peaceful means. The result has been exactly what should have been anticipated and prevented by wise diplomacy. Germany has rearmed and is claiming and getting her "place in the sun." Italy is getting, for the first time in two thousand years, a share in the control of the sea in which Italy is confined and which Great Britain and France have dominated. Far from being a "return" to power politics from the League methods, this is merely the reappearance on the surface of the crude sort of power politics that has been going on, uninterrupted, within the League, and using the League to conceal its inherent savagery.

The new League of Nations for which we must educate and work, and in the creation of which the United States can and should use its unique power and position, will not have to be built like the old League, on force. Dissociated from the Treaty of Versailles, the new League can from the outset build on equal justice for all nations. There will not be one law for victors and another law for the vanquished. All will be on the same level, like our own states. The Pan-American system of treaties would make an excellent model for this new League in the limitation of commitments to that of immediate consultation when its services are needed in the interest of peace and justice. The principle of non-intervention in the affairs of other nations may also be in the new Covenant. The processes of mediation, conciliation, and ultimately compulsory arbitration of disputes not otherwise settled, will be given the prominence they deserve in a plan for permanent world peace. Progressive and sincere disarmament will become possible in a world in which resort to the war method will not be found necessary or desirable. Then collective security will become more substantial than a dream.

One new institution, however, will undoubtedly be required. It will be an "international grievance committee," representative not only of governments but of farm and labor and business, to hear the complaints of underprivileged peoples and, after weighing their justice or lack of justice, to make recommendations as to remedies. The present division of the surface of the earth and its natural wealth as between nations and races is too unjust to last long. In Southern and Eastern Asia half the world's population is confined within one-seventh of the world's habitable area, and a relatively poor seventh at that. The imperialistic method of exploiting the people of Africa is a disgrace to our civilization. In the Far East, Australia, a relatively empty continent, thus far maintains itself as a white man's continent by force though in close proximity to the most crowded portions of the world. North and South America have not yet faced seriously the use to be made of their empty spaces. Injustices can be found not only in China and in Spain, but all about us. For centuries to come, changes will be taking place in the division of power and the distribution of the world's wealth, which may be peaceful or violent as our children and their children will decide. Our task is to provide wisely, as our forefathers did for us in this country, the institutions of justice without trying to solve in advance their problems.

Against the proposals of Mr. Browder and others that our country immediately join the imperialist-Communist bloc to exert economic coercion upon the fascist bloc of nations, hoping that this will promote world peace and democracy, I offer as the program of the National Council for Prevention of War:

1. That we keep America out of foreign wars under all circumstances.
2. That our country give the great leadership of which it is capable in removing the economic causes of war and raising the standards of living throughout the world.
3. That we coöperate fully in organizing the world for the permanent maintenance of peace with justice.

The Chairman

You have heard this important question discussed with great conviction, eloquence, and good will on both sides. I am interested in emphasizing points on which we are all agreed. We are opposed to an expensive military and naval establishment. We are opposed to the May Bill for general conscription. Furthermore, there is a situation for which advocates of neutrality and advocates of collective action both have a certain responsibility. I am ashamed to think that a year and a half ago I was speaking in favor of the Neutrality Law. The neutrality law we advocated went to the White House and, as in the case of Mary's lamb that went to Pittsburgh—just look at the damned thing now. The Neutrality Law as applied to Spain on the ground of preserving the peace and security of the United States is a fraud. Moreover, we have broken a treaty with Spain, dating from 1899, giving to that country full commercial rights. As a nation which talks much about the sanctity of treaties, we ought to be ashamed of breaking this treaty with Spain.

Madame Roland said on the scaffold: "Oh, liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name." I say, "Oh, neutrality, what crimes are committed in thy name." On the other hand, I do not doubt that it was the temptation of collective action with twenty-seven other nations that was responsible for the President's proclamation.

I say that all of us, those who believe in neutrality and those who believe in collective action, should have the case of Spain heavily on our hearts and consciences. This is one point on which we can all agree, in regard to which we can take action. And I say it is up to all peace-lovers to see that the crime against Spain is done away with.

Now we have a half-hour of joint debate. Inasmuch as the time allotted to each speaker is strictly limited, I am going to ask you not to steal the time of the speakers by prolonged demonstrations of approval or disapproval.

Mr. Browder's Rebuttal

I WANT first of all to express my warmest appreciation to Mr. Libby for having so ably proved my case for me. I am sure that his speech convinced more people than mine did of the absolute necessity of breaking once and for all from a neutrality attitude which can lead us to such consequences as he proposed to us here tonight. Not all advocates and spokesmen of this policy are fair enough to us to be as frank as Mr. Libby, and I think we should thank him for his frankness.

Mr. Libby has told us tonight quite openly that he proposes, as the way to peace, to make the fascist nations prosperous. If we make them prosperous enough, they will stop threatening us with war. I asked Mr. Libby if he was prepared for that purpose of dividing American wealth among the fascist nations. He did not answer that directly, but I think we can see that this is the logical conclusion which must be drawn from his remarks.

Mr. Libby expressed agreement with us on some points. But it is a strange agreement. I said neutrality is murder. Mr. Libby says he agrees with me that neutrality is not enough.

Starting from a premise that moral standards must not be applied to fascist nations, Mr. Libby suddenly begins to wax moral —we find he has not lost his morality entirely. We are glad to see that he does not entirely disregard moral standards, but it seems a little strange that moral standards come in and are allowed to operate only on condition that they operate in favor of Hitler and Mussolini; that he adheres to morals only when they operate in favor of the warmakers; that an embargo against the warmakers is wrong because it will starve the helpless women and children in Germany, Italy, and Japan, while an embargo against loyalist Spain is all right. I think it is not an accident, it is not at all an accident, that in the forty-five minute presentation of Mr. Libby's road to peace he did not have one single word of condemnation for the bombardment of Barcelona.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Libby relies mainly, for bringing you

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around to his point of view, upon telling you about the terrible, terrible things that are going to happen when "the boys come home." He wants to frighten us by telling us what our enemies are planning against us, the terrible things that Hitler is going to plan against us if we cross him. He forgets one thing: the fascists abroad and at home will make their plans, but when it comes to executing these plans we are going to have something to say about the question.

Mr. Libby is disturbed because I don't propose that the United States go to war; and as most of his argument is directed toward the horror of war, he must conclude in spite of everything that I do propose war, so he says "an embargo against the warmakers is a war measure." But, my dear Mr. Libby—we propose an embargo against the warmakers; you propose an embargo against both the warmakers and their victims; therefore, you propose war against both of them, war against friend and enemy alike. You say embargo is an act of war, but the whole purpose of the Neutrality Act is designed to place the embargo against both warmakers and victims—if the embargo is war, you propose twice as much war as we propose, war against the whole world.

Mr. Libby assured us that if we dare take action against the fascist dictators, this will only consolidate the people of these countries behind their dictatorships, and he draws a picture following the American declaration of embargo of the women of Italy rushing with their wedding rings to Mussolini. But what is the truth of this? These dictators live upon the cheap victories presented to them by policies such as Mr. Libby wants us to follow. When those cheap victories stop, the dictators will fall. One good stiff licking is enough to finish Hitler, because so far from having the support of the German people, Hitler can exist only so long as he can create the appearance of invincible power that even forces the British lion to crawl at his feet. The moment that illusion is wiped away, at that moment the house-of-cards of fascism will begin to tumble.

The reason why Mussolini grew strong in the period of so-called sanctions is not because the sanctions were applied, but because the sanctions were sabotaged; that made Mussolini strong.

Well, I have one minute. Let me use that for a statement regarding the name of Mr. Libby's organization. It is the "Council for Prevention of War." I think after hearing Mr. Libby giving the policy of that organization here tonight we should propose in the interest of honest advertising they change their name to the "Council for the Granting of Full Power to the Warmakers in the Rest of the World."

Mr. Libby's Rebuttal

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have no doubt that Mr. Browder is correct in saying that I strengthened his case before this particular audience, which is largely sympathetic with his point of view to begin with. What its effect may be when read by that broader audience, the public, remains to be seen.

My first point is that you cannot laugh away the danger of fascism. If we go to war for any reason whatever, a totalitarian dictatorship is going to be set up immediately over this entire nation, which the War Department expects, as its Mobilization Plan and the May Bill show, to continue indefinitely after the war. Those in Germany who once laughed at Hitler and his grandiose plans for controlling and extending Germany laugh no longer. Whatever follies we in America commit, we must under no conceivable circumstances allow our government to involve us in the wars of Europe or Asia. Don't become so wrapped up in overthrowing fascism elsewhere that you allow our own government to go fascist down the broad highroad of war.

In the second place, Mr. Browder says that his policy will not get us into war, and I say it will. This is the most important difference in our points of view. It seems to me fantastic to hope that we can embargo three nations at once, all alone except possibly for the aid that Mexico and Russia will give us, while we feed our supplies under the face and eyes of these three nations to their enemies and victims, and that we can "get away" with all this without anybody's getting excited and without starting a war. The dictators have not shown themselves so meek and submissive as that. Passions will become inflamed on both sides, stubborn wills will clash, "incidents" will happen, "and so to war."

I do not agree with Mr. Browder that the majority of the American people are with him on this issue. On the contrary, I believe that no one can be elected for Congress next November who will declare himself willing to take the risk, in trying to stop the aggressors, of leading this country again into a foreign war. In 1917 President Wilson, after being elected on the slogan, "He kept us out of war," took us into war. If candidates for Congress this summer declare themselves in favor of Mr. Browder's policy, it is my conviction that they will be defeated at the polls. Those of you who want to see how far you can get politically on this theory of concerted action against the fascist states, try it out and see for yourselves!

Mr. Browder has just argued in his rebuttal that, since I regard his embargo policy as an act of war, then neutrality, which I advocate, must be doubly so. This is not the case. When a nation imposes, at the outbreak of a war, an embargo on both belligerents alike, this is recognized as legal neutrality and has long been regarded among the nations as not constituting a hostile act. Therefore, my policy is not an act of war. On the other hand, to furnish goods to one side and withhold them from the other side is an act of war. If we adopt Mr. Browder's policy, we already have taken sides in the war.

Mr. Browder says that Mexico and Russia will surely join with us if we embargo Germany, Italy, and Japan all at once. Mr. Browder doubtless has sources of information that are not open to me but I do not feel at all sure that Russia will under any circumstances go outside her borders to fight other people's wars. This is in case our embargo policy leads to war, as I believe it certainly must. Russia has given no indication that she intends to do anything of the kind, although she has had plenty of provocation to become involved in war during the past two years.

Coming now to the question of moral standards, Mr. Browder charges that I take no interest in moral standards. I am glad that he is so deeply interested in moral standards. I did not know until tonight that the Communist Party, under the leadership of Karl Marx, entertains such high regard for moral standards as Mr. Browder says it does. But I do not regard it as moral to take a certain day in a certain year and say that from now on everybody that disturbs the status quo is a treaty-breaking aggressor and "immoral," while leaving unchanged and unchangeable the unjust conditions that have provoked the disturbances. You will search Mr. Browder's speech in vain to find any suggestion that the status quo among the nations needs changing. Mr. Browder would relegate to perpetual poverty underprivileged nations, while the Communist Party is understood to have even revolutionary sympathies with underprivileged individuals.

Moral standards and principles must be of universal application. As I have undertaken to show in my main argument, fascist aggression has its roots in imperialist oppression. No adequate provision for peaceful change was made in the Treaty of Versailles nor in the League of Nations nor in the Nine-Power Treaty nor in the Kellogg pact. The Kellogg pact forbids change except by peaceful means but provides no means, a shortcoming which our government has done nothing to supply.

So our task will not be so simple as Mr. Browder seems to think. He accepts things as they are internationally, condemns anyone who changes the status quo as a "treaty breaker," outlaws Germany, Italy, and Japan, and proposes that they be starved into virtue. But you cannot starve anybody into virtue. Germany, Italy, and Japan will not be reformed in that way.

Mr. Browder says with some scorn that I am suggesting that we "trust" the fascist states. Whether you like it or not, this is exactly what I do suggest. Mr. Browder has quoted Karl Marx and Thomas Jefferson. I will quote over against their authority one whom I place above them both, Jesus Christ. He says that there is

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just one way of dealing with evil doers that will work. We are to overcome evil with good. We are to do away with our enemies by not having any. Whatever they do, we are not to regard them as enemies but treat them like friends. This moral standard I regard as sound in this particular universe.

Time will tell whether Mr. Browder is right in the views he has expressed here tonight or whether I am. It may be that there will prove to be a little truth in both of our positions. In the conflict of forces now pressing in many directions progress is not likely to be just what Mr. Browder wants nor what I want but a composite of many great forces driving us on toward a greater future than any of us can now anticipate. If the economic causes of war and the present inordinate preparations for war are abolished, this achievement alone will contribute incredibly to making possible happier and more prosperous world.

Mr. Browder's Final Rebuttal

MY opponent has tried to put me in a position of being absurd, by stating that I stand for the "status quo" and he wants to remedy the ills of the world. When you examine this a little more deeply, this argument becomes an apology for the fascist warmakers. We do not defend the "status quo" but we say, so long as there exist warmaking governments in the world that are changing the satus quo by means of invasion of other people and destruction of other nations, talk about peaceful change is so much poppycock.

It is uniform among the advocates of the neutrality-bloc policy to ascribe the most serious danger to world peace as coming from the Soviet government whereas the danger from fascism is only the danger of resisting fascism. Yet, at the same time that those people are trying to scare us by saying that the Soviet Union is bringing about war, they come with their clever provocation to demand why the Soviet Union hasn't gone to war already. I will tell you why the Soviet Union has not gone to war—because it stands for exactly the same kind of policy we are proposing for the United States, not war but the organization of peace. It is the privilege of everyone to disagree with the inner organization of the Soviet Union if they don't like Socialism, if they prefer capitalism, but it is not the privilege of anyone who wants to stand as a peace advocate to try to slander the Soviet Union by saying that it is not a peace advocate, and at the same time try to provoke it to go to war. The Soviet Union remains, as it has been through the whole post-war period, the most reliable, the most stalwart, the most powerful bulwark of peace and progress for the peoples of the entire world.

We say the time has come when the world must choose between war and destruction or organized peace. The United States has the peculiar opportunity of taking the lead and organizing the peace of the world. We cannot, however, protect ourselves and protect the world from the threatening catastrophe if we follow the course that has been defended this evening by Mr. Libby. The time is short. If we disregard too long our opportunity, it will quickly disappear and the fascist aggression will increase. By acting now against the warmakers of the world, we can keep America out of war by keeping war out of the world!

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